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"No man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not unworthy to be cast away."—MILTON.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—FINLAND AND RUSSIA.

FOR many years the status of the Scandinavian countries as independent nations has not been free from peril. Since Denmark was compelled to cede both Schleswig and Holoteiss to the former Germanic confederation, and the young German has permanently annexed the Danish-speaking population of the former duchy, Denmark's integrity is compromised, and her independence endangered. In Norway serious apprehensions are felt lest Russia should encroach on the northern provinces, and it is anticipated that at no very distant date the attempt will be made by that empire to obtain possession of a harbour in Finmarken. Sweden looks with anxiety towards her eastern frontier, and foresees the time when there will be no barrier of a friendly people between herself and her ancient foe.

The Grand-Duchy of Finland is thoroughly Scandinavian through its religion, its civilization and its freedom. For more than five hundred years, it was knit to Sweden by the tie of affection, and by pride in a common fatherland, though the great majority of its inhabitants derive from another race. It shared in the glories and reverses of Sweden, adopted her institutions, as well as the Swedish language;—indeed at the present time that tongue is still spoken by its most cultivated inhabitants, and is the medium of the Finnish poets whose fame has passed beyond the limits of their native land.

During a long residence in Norway the writer of these lines has remarked the extreme sympathy of which the Fins are the object, and the indignation with which Russian aggression on Finnish liberty is resented. In his intercourse with Swedes and Fins he has noticed the dispairing tone of the former whenever Finnish affairs were mentioned, and the stifled exasperation of th latter, whose grief is beyond words: the shadow of an alienerule already darkens their home!

But a short while ago the Fins were united to their Russian rulers by a tie that was only less strong than that which once

bound them to the Swedish nation. They loved and honoured Alexander I, respected Nicholas I, and almost worshipped Alexander II, who not only confirmed but increased their freedom.

Under his wise rule Russia ceased to be a foe and became an associate. But these cordial sentiments have vanished; and the measures of Nicholas II have so harrassed a faithful people, that it would need the complete reversal of his present policy, and the lapse of years before the chasm that has opened between their rulers and themselves could be closed.

Since the assassination of Alexander II, the storm has been gathering that now menaces Finland with destruction, the Panslavonian party has become estremely powerful, and to retain their hold on the Russian people, the two last emperors have humoured that party's movement, and followed its lead: it was an antidote to Nihilism, and a force favorable to themselves, provided they would serve a Panslavonian policy.

But almost at the gates of St. Petersburg there flourished a young and vigorous people, which although it obeyed the Czar, differed so completely as regards its culture, its institutions, and the whole tendency of its civilization from its Russian neighbours; far from showing any inclination to be pleased with the Slavs, its Finnish characteristics have become more pronounced. It grows more and more an obstacle to Panslavonian ambition, and it is a source of irritation that Finland is in the enjoyment of a freedom to which Holy Russia cannot aspire, while Finnish civilization contrasts so favorably with Russian. Finally the military authorities taking their cue from the Panslavist's pretend that it is necessary to amalgamate the military forces of the whole empire, and that in consequence the Finnish army should be completely incorporated in the Russian. Such a measure would be a great step towards the goal of Panslavonian ambition.

Throughout the reign of Alexander III there was an indirect attack against the freedom of Finland. A long polemic was carried on between Russian jurists who denied the existence of its autonomy* and Finnish jurists who defended it. The Finnish people were subjected to vexatory measures and were full of misgivings. But when Nicholas II succeeded his father, they looked forward with confidence to a brighter future; the famous peace-manifesto aroused their liveliest hope; but his councillors were even then preparing with his approval a deadly blow against their liberty.

A passion for uniformity prevailed in Russia, democracy

* Finland has been well defined as a "non-sovereign autonomy with a constitutional monarchical government in an inseperable union with the Russian Empire."

was at a discount; the contageon of freedom was dreaded, and the existence of a free people in the vicinity of St. Petersburg an offence. All the dominions of the Czar should be consolidated into an homogeneous empire, that should prove an effective barrier against the levelling spirit of the West. The immense destiny of Russia was not to be checked by a little democratic people. The fusion of all the military forces of the empire would serve to render Finland Russian, and at the same time strengthen the army: such was the thought of Russian statesmen; but in reality the position of Russia from a moral point of view has been compromised owing to the policy she has latterly pursued in Finland; while she will derive little or no advantage from a military one: the addition of a few discontented soldiers will scarcely augment the strength of her armies.

If we would understand the present crisis we must glance at the brief but interesting annals of Finland. It was originally peopled by Laps, who were driven northwards by Finnish tribes of the same race as themselves;—they were of Turanian origin. About the same time as the great migration of Teutas and Slavs the Fins or rather Finnish tribes removed from the districts adjacent to the Ural and to the Altai mountans; and settled gradually on the banks of Lakes Onega and Ladoga, and near the Gulf of Finland * We learn most about those primitive settlers from the Kalavala,† a famous collection of ancient Finnish song—collected in modern times, that chiefly relate to prehistoric ages. They abound in magic, lay great stress on the power of song, and show also an unusual appreciation of idyllic nature. They contain an account of the gods and heroes of the Finnish race—which last are apparently less heroic than those of Norse tradition. Many of the myths testify to the close relations between Fins and Swedes, and to judge from local names, some Swedish colonists took up their abode on the Finnish coast before the earliest record.‡

About the year 1157 St. Erik, King of Sweden, led a crusade to Finland, in order to convert its inhabitants to Christianity, but it was not until a century later, that the conquest of that country was really effected. The Swedes subsequently disputed with the Russians for its possession. The great majority of the Fins dwelling in the territory now called Finland were converted to the faith of the Latin Church, while the numerous Fins in Northern Russia were converts of the Greek Church through

* M. G. Schybergson: Finland's Historia Helsingpors, 1889.

† The Kalvala has been described by Professor Max Müller as possessing merits not dissimiiar from the Iliad.

‡ Schybergson.

Russians whose side they took against the Swedes and their Roman Catholic kinsmen. The most ruthless wars were waged, in which the semi-republic of Novgorod took a leading part and endeavoured to reduce Finland to subjection. When Russia was conquered by Tartars in the thirteen century, she was forced for a time to abandon her worst aggressions against the former country, a great part of which she had clamed as her territory. Hence it is partly owing to the Tartars, that Scandinavian civilsation prevailed in Finland.

Its inhabitants acquired equal political rights with the Swedes in the fourteenth century, and in the year 1362 took part in the election of a common king. It was then considered an integral part of Sweden; it enjoyed the same constitution, and serfage was abolished. The Fins, however, preserved their own language, though Swedish became the official tongue.

When Russia threw off the Tartar yoke, she was in a position to attack Finland with large forces, and the latter was again in danger of a Russian conquest, but Russia grew weak through internal strife, and its weakness was Sweden's opportunity. At the peace of Stolbova in 1617 that empire was completely excluded from the shores of the Baltic.

In the thirty-years war Finnish soldiers were the most renowned of Gustavus Adolphus. Some terrible famines at the close of the seventeenth century and the long war* between Charles XII and Peter the Great together with his allies brought it to the verge of complete ruin. A fourth of the inhabitants, that were estimated to be 400,000 in number, was extirpated or carried into captivity. The sufferings were incredible at the period called 'The Great Disorder's Time' from the year 1714 until 1721. By the peace of Nyshad at the latter date Sweden was compelled to cede to Russia an important district in Finland. Twenty years afterwards Sweden declared war against Russia, was defeated and obliged to yield another slice of Finnish territory. During the course of hostilities there happened a remarkable event, that was the precursor of the union of Finland with the ancient enemy. The Empress Elizabeth issued, in 1742, a proclamation to the Finnish people in which she declared her wish to make Finland an independent frontier state—a 'buffer' state in fact. It was from that date that certain Fins began to perceive that the struggle in which their country was involved was hopeless; that the growing preponderance of Russia rendered it impossible for Sweden to defend Finland with success; and that its most advantageous course was to come to an understanding with its Eastern neighbour: especially as it had nothing to expect

* "The Great Northern War" [*Deu Stora Nordiska Krig*] in Swedish *Deu stora upledeus Tidcasaedest.*

from the thoughtless policy of Swedish factions. It was, however, a very small minority that contemplated a separation from the mother-country.

When Gustavus III by means of his famous *coup d'état* saved his kingdom from the rule of a corrupt and impotent olegarchy, he made many enemies, especially among the nobility, of which class several members strove to reduce the monarchy to its former helpless condition. Discontented Swedo-Finnish nobles endeavoured to found a national party for Finland, whose independence it became their object to secure;—if it were necessary through a union with Russia. Sprengporten, an ambitious Finnish officer of a Swedish family, who had been the abetter of the *coup d'état*, was the soul of this new-pseudo-national party. His ambition had not been satisfied by the king, whom he betrayed.* He organized the Anjalaalbana whose ostensible object was to reduce the royal power, though it was secretly made use of in order to promote the independence of Finland. It was composed chiefly of former Finnish officers, of Swedish origin or birth, who had a grievance against the king. Sprengporten himself finally abandoned the Swedish service and entered the Russian. At St. Petersburg he was the Councillor of the Russian Empress, Catherine II, who entrigued to acquire Finland. He was, however, a man of real talent; and it is in part owing to his efforts that Finland was subsequently able to preserve her ancient institutions, but he was no friend of a democracy; and had even advocated the introduction of serfage in Finland.

When Gustavus III attacked (in 1788) Russia from Finnish territory, the officers of his army mutinied and entered into negotiations with Russia in order to terminate hostilities. They pleaded in their defence that the king had infringed the constitution by declaring war without the Diet's consent, but in reality they desired the restoration of the former oligarchy. Some of them indeed intrigued with Sprengporten and the Empress of Russia with a view to the establishment of a separate Finnish state. But the mass of the Finnish people as well as of the Swedish remained faithful to their king, who with the help of their patriotism was able to repress the mutiny and preserve Finland.

At the beginning of the next century, when Gustavus IV refused to co-operate with Alexander I and Napolean against England, Finland was invaded, (in 1888) by a Russian army. Owing to the betrayal of Socaberg, an almost impregnable fortress and the arsenal of the country, together with the incapacity of the commander of the Swedo-Finnish army, the

* C. J. Odhner: Sweden's Political History under King Gustavus III's Government: Stockholm, 1896.

war was unfavourable to the latter, though it gained heroic victories over a more numerous foe. It was this campaign that Runeberg, the great poet both of Sweden and Finland, has sung in his most pathetic strains.*

While fortune at first was so favorable to the Russian arms, in compliance with the dominant party at the Court of St. Petersburg, that required Finland to be simply annexed and incorporated in the Russian empire, a declaration was forwarded to the rest of the European powers, in which Finland was mentioned as a "province conquered by force of arms;" but when the issue of the campaign seemed uncertain, Alexander, listening to the advice of Sprengsporten, published the manifesto of June 5-17† in the same year (1808) in which he declared it was his firm intention to retain the Fins "among the peoples that obey the Russian sceptre, and with them form a kingdom,"‡ but it was at the same time promised them in this document that "Finland's ancient constitutions§ and privileges *should be forcibly preserved sacred;*" and a prospect of the meeting of the Diet in the near future was held out. Following the injunctions of the Emperor, a deputation was elected in Finland and sent to St. Petersburg, when it was decided that the Diet should be summoned after the due election of its members on March 22nd of the following year (1809)—perhaps the most momentous date in the annals of Finland. In the decree of the Diet convocation the Emperor called himself for the first time "Grand Duke" and the designation 'province' of the first declaration was replaced by "Grand Duchy,"—an important modification revealing the intention of Alexander I to establish the autonomy of that country.

The 'constitutions' to which the manifesto referred had been enjoyed in common by both Finland and Sweden from mediæval times. They had been modified by the 'Form of Government' of 1772 and the 'Act of Unity and Security' of 1889, when the monarchy recovered and increased the ancient prerogatives. Though parliamentary privileges were curtailed by these acts, both countries still remained in the possession of constitutional liberties, which among matters

* Runeberg was a Fin, who among other great poems wrote "Tales of Ensign Staal" recounting the vicissitudes of that campaign.

† Nyholm: "Finland's Position in the Russian Empire."—(Copenhagen, 1900.)

‡ Rike (Swedish) corresponds to the German *Reich* kingdom and refers to the whole Empire of Russia.

§ The word 'constitutions' to which Russian jurists have denied the same import as 'constitution' in the singular number is used in this manifesto and similar documents as synonymous with 'constitutional laws:' Nyholm.

required the consent of the Diet in matters connected with the enrolment of troops;—it is this restriction, ignored by the present Emperor, that has been the immediate occasion of the present crisis.

On March 15-27 Alexander I signed with his own hand the famous 'Act of Assurance' that has been called Finland's Magna Charta. It was as follows: "We, Alexander I, by God's Grace, Emperor and Autocrat of the whole of Russia, etc., etc., Grand Duke of Finland, etc., etc., declare: that since by the dispensation of providence, we have taken possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, it is herewith our will to strengthen and confirm the country, religion and *constitutional laws* together with the rights and privileges to which each estate in particular of the said Grand Duchy and all its inhabitants in common, high and low, have hitherto enjoyed according to the *constitution*; it is promised* to maintain all its privileges fixed and undisturbed in their full force. For further security we have signed this Act of Assurance with our own hand: Given at Borgha, March 15-27, 1809."

On the next day Alexander opened the Diet in person. It was mediæval in character,—as indeed it is still the case, and consisted of the delegates of four estates: there were seventy-eight nobles, eight members of the clergy, nineteen burghers, and thirty peasants. On the next day the Emperor addressed the members who were presented to him: "I have promised," he said in the course of his speech, "to preserve your *constitution* and your constitutional laws." On the morrow there was held the most important meeting of the session: in the ancient cathedral of Borgha, the Emperor, who sat on a throne decorated with the arms of Finland (a gold lion holding a sword), received the oath of fidelity of the members, while at the same time allegiance was solemnly sworn by the latter to the country's fundamental laws and constitution, "as they are received and valid at the present time" This constitution, save for a few modifications with the consent of the Diet, has remained to our days virtually the same since the Russian annexation.

The 'Act of Assurance' was read and approved; the Emperor addressed the members in a few hearty words; and finally an herald advanced before the throne and proclaimed amid the salute of cannon: "Long live Alexander I, Emperor of all Russia, Grand Duke of Finland!"

The Diet continued its labours during four months and was closed by the Emperor in person. On dismissing it he addressed the members in an often cited speech; referring to the Finnish people in general he pronounced these momen-

* In the Swedish document '*lofvandes.*'

tous words : "This brave and loyal people will bless Providence that has established the present order of affairs. *Placed henceforth in the rank of nations*, under the empire of its own laws, it will only recollect its past domination to cultivate friendly relations when they are re-established by peace."

Yet within the last two decades there have been distinguished Russian jurists, who have boldly asserted that the Finnish constitution can be revoked at the good pleasure of the Russian Emperor, since Finland's autonomy is not guaranteed by international law. They maintain that as the peace of Frederikshamn, (September 17th, 1809), when Sweden ceded Finland to Russia, was not concluded until two months after the date when Alexander I closed the Diet of Borgha (July 19th, 1809), it was therefore the sole valid international agreement, and must be considered as conclusive for the mutual relations between Finland and Russia.

There are two articles in that treaty that concern us here : In the first (Article IV) it is stated that : "This district (Finland) with all its inhabitants market-towns, harbours, fortresses, villages, and islands with their accessories, their privileges, rights and revenues, should for the future with full right of ownership belong to the Russian Empire and be included in it; the second (Article VII) runs thus : "Since H. M. the Emperor has *already* given the most undoubted proofs of the indulgence and justice with which he has decided to govern the inhabitants of the land, which he has newly acquired, while he has nobly and of his own free will conceded them the free exercise of their religion, their rights of ownership, and their privileges, H. M. the King of Swiden perceives that he is exonerated from what had otherwise been a sacred duty,—from the necessary reservation in this respect in favour of his former subjects."

It is to these two articles that Russian jurists appeal when they assert, that the autonomy of Finland was not guaranteed by treaty, as no clause was expressly inserted to safeguard it, and that Finland's constitution can be revoked at the good pleasure of a Russian emperor, in the same way that it was conferred. But the fact that Article VI declares that Finland's future relation to Russia had been '*already*' determined, must refer to another and previous date, and that could be none other than the date of the Diet of Borgha, when the Emperor solemnly pledged his imperial word to maintain the constitution and the privileges of Finland ; and it was only after his repeated promise to maintain them, that the oath of fidelity was taken to his person as Grand Duke of Finland. Thus at the time of the Treaty of Frederikshamn the constitution that Alexander I had proclaimed "*sacred*" "*already*" protected the rights and liberties of the Fins ; these therefore can-

not be called in question without at the same time infringing the solemn pledge of the Czar, whose word is law in Russia. If it be broken, the Fins would, *de jure*, be released from thir oath of allegiance to the successors of Alexander I who have all renewed his pledge on their occasion to the throne of the Grand Duchy ; for it was a mutual pact that *legally* decided the relations between the Czar and his Finnish subjects, and not the force of arms. The treaty of Frederikshamn recognised clearly a *fait accompli* enjoying a permanent legal validity, which it was altogether superfluous to guarantee.

The other objections raised by the Russian jurists to the Finnish constitution are so puerile as not to merit a refutation : —'that Alexander was ignorant of Finnish affairs,' 'that he prejudiced the interests of the Russian empire by signing it, that he was hoodwinked by Finnish advisers,' etc., etc.*

The prerogatives of the crown in Finland are already so extensive that they can scarcely be increased without annulling representative institutions. The sovereign had a greater control over public affairs than in any other constitutional states. In his quality of Russian Emperor he represents Finland absolutely as a part of his Russian dominions in its relations with foreign powers, declares war and concludes peace at his good pleasure, has the supreme command of Finnish troops, and garrisons Finnish fortresses with Russian regiments ; in his quality of Imperial Grand Duke of Finland, he appoints the Governor-General, and the Marshal of the nobility, determines the duration of the Diet that he convokes, proposes projects of laws, decrees their alteration or abolition, (except they are constitutional laws) appoints civil and military officials, determines the Custom House Tariff and innumerable other matters. Very important functions are besides entrusted to the Senate of Finland, a body consisting of twenty members appointed directly by the Crown, and exercising in many cases an absolute authority. The Governor-General has the press under his control, commands both the Finnish troops and Russian regiments in Finnish garrisons ; and he proposes to the Emperor the choice of the Governors of provinces, of the presidents of the law courts, and of the senators.

Hence the authority of the Diet must necessarily be very limited. The vote has only a determining force where the constitutional laws of the duchy are concerned,—but it has not the right to take the initiation even with regard to them. These constitutional laws relate to military conscription, the im-

* Recent investigations have demonstrated that Alexander I was perfectly well posted in Finnish affairs, and that his concessions to Finland served to secure St. Petersburg, when Napolean invaded Russia in 1812. (Compare Schybergson, Nyholm, etc.)

position of new taxes, the use of the Swedish language at the same time as the Russian in transactions with the Imperial Government at St. Petersburg. They determine that the nationality of the Secretary of State for Finnish affairs at St. Petersburg should be Finish, * and they establish the right of Finnish subjects "to publish their views on all matters appertaining to human knowledge without any previous hindrance of public authorities" together with some minor matters. Yet the Diet's authority has been lately overidden in each of these privileges with the exception of the right of consent to new taxes, and there only remains to abolish this right to abolish at the same time the state of Finland.

Alexander I did not persevere in his liberal policy towards Finland. From an enlightened friend of liberty he became—outwardly at least—reactionary in his views and the soul of the Holy-Alliance. Yet, though he refused to summon another Diet, he did not infringe the Finnish constitution. No clearly constitutional law was introduced, altered or annulled, and the Government was entirely carried on through the administrations and officials; the same was the case during the reign of Nicholas I.

But with the accession of Alexander II in 1855, a new policy was inaugurated in Finland. For the first time, after the lapse of more than fifty years the Diet was convoked. The Emperor opened it in person at Helsingpors, that had replaced Aabo as the capital of the country. In his speech from the throne, after referring to the *monarchical constitutional principle* "that accords with the customs of the Finnish people," he announced his intention of increasing the Diet's power of imposing taxes, and of restoring to that body the right of motion (a right that the common Diet of both Finland and Sweden had lost during the reign of Gustavus III). It was chiefly due to Alexander II's concessions to the needs of the Finnish nationality that Finland heartily acquiesced in its union with Russia.

After his cruel murder, his successor, Alexander III, gradually allowed the Panslavonian party to gain the upper hand; and the latter left nothing undone with a view to the complete absorption of the Grand Duchy by the Russian empire.

Within the last two decades blow after blow has been struck against the very existence of Finland as an autonomy. The first direct attack against the authority of the Diet, that now met in accordance with a decree of Alexander I at fixed intervals—of four, previously three years, was the revocation of an important penal law (in 1889) after the Emperor had already signed it. Next came the annexion of the public services of Finland—of

*An official of Russian nationality has been lately appointed to that post in defiance of the constitution.

the post office, the customs and the mint, to the Russian administrations. And, finally, while the peace manifesto of Nicholas II raised the hopes of all Finnish patriots, the Governor-General of Finland, *Bobrikoff*, laid before the Diet a radical measure—not apparently for their approval, but simply for their consideration. This measure quadrupled the Finnish army and made a complete change in its organization. It was immediately impeached and indignantly rejected by the members of the estates.

As a result of its rejection the 'Imperial Manifesto,' and 'The Fundamental Statute' or 'Determination of the Constitutional Law' were issued both on the same date (February 10th, 1899). In the 'Imperial Manifesto' it was declared that though the Emperor maintained in force the procedure that regulated laws exclusively relating to Finland, he reserved for himself the power to make decisions, which concerned the general legislation of the empire. The 'Determination of the Constitutional Law' was a still more dangerous encroachment on the constitution. According to the terms of the latter "no general or constitutional law can be changed or abolished without the consent of the Diet." Yet 'the Determination' enacts that it is only requisite to demand the opinion of the Diet about laws concerning the whole empire, and about those which are valid within the Grand Duchy alone, but, which at the same time relate to the common interests of the empire. Consequently as the necessity of the Diet's consent is expressly excluded, laws involving the very existence of Finland can come into [illegible] after a few formalities, at the good pleasure of the [illegible]. As no limitation is made in 'the [illegible]' laws which might be made to apply to [illegible] concern imperial legislation, the Finnish [illegible] to the level of a county council; and the E[illegible] himself *de facto*, if not *de jure*, Autocrat a[illegible] of Finland.

The Senate very reluctantly agreed to pu[illegible] but none the less unanimously protested and [illegible] protest to their imperial master. It was immediately refused by the latter. So a deputation that was composed of the Marshal of the Nobility, and of the president of the remaining three estates of Finland proceeded to St. Petersburg with a similar protest. The Emperor refused to receive them also, but informed them through the Secretary of State that "it had moved him deeply that it could be supposed he could break his word." They were further enjoined to return to their work, and to inform the estates, that "he took it upon himself to decide in each case of dispute whether the affair in question was of the kind to come within the sphere of imperial legislation, and to be treated by the highest legislative authority."

This repeated refusal excited the greatest agitation throughout Finland. Almost involuntarily the thought was conceived of an address from the people to their Grand Duke. Within ten days in the heart of winter, in a vast and thinly-peopled land, a monster petition was signed by 520,000 people scattered between the Gulf of Finland and the Arctic Ocean, and was carried to St. Petersburg by 500 respected citizens. It was almost pathetic in form; after referring to the ancient constitution of the country, that had been confirmed by successive Russian monarchs, it continues. . . "We could not think that it is your Imperial Majesty's intention to attack the lawful order and internal repose of Finland. . . . On the contrary we refuse to the bottom of our hearts to doubt the immutability of the imperial word, because it is precisely our present gracious monarch, who has proclaimed before all men, that might shall yield to right. . . ."

But this deputation met with the same fate as the preceding one, and must return home without an audience. Subsequently it may be recollected that a European deputation, which included distinguished jurists, was also denied that honour.

The Diet continued its labours during these events, and passed a radical measure of military reform that generously met the Russian demands but refused to allow Finland soldiers to serve beyond the Finnish frontiers in time of peace.* They also appealed to the Emperor against the claim that a special law relating to conscription could be determined without the Diet's consent. . . . "They considered it their duty [redacted] the laws and rights that in 1809 were solemnly [redacted]ish people for preservation unaltered."

[redacted]ear Finland has been both menaced and [redacted]ech from the throne when the Diet was [redacted]inary session the Emperor through the [redacted]al Bobrikoff declared that "the opinions [redacted]ed with the matter in question, or that to all [redacted]a general interest for the empire, must not [redacted]ject for discussion in the Diet. Opinions of that kind have been advanced in that last Diet, and induced an afflicting and ungrounded agitation with the people. A *repetition of such conduct will excite the doubt whether the institutions of the estates is compatible with present circumstances.* . . . . "

The newspapers are now subject to *censure* before they are

* In Bobukoff's scheme of military reform, there was a clause, which compelled Finnish soldiers to serve in Russia, and in Russian regiments. Of all measures, this was the most obnoxious in Finland; it was feared that Finnish recruits would suffer greatly through their contact with Russians, who are so inferior to the Fins as regards morality, culture and civilization.

published. By a Ukase of July 9th the various public departments of the Grand-Duchy are ordered to use the Russian language exclusively in their transactions ; the Senate is commanded to employ that language in its correspondence with the Governor-General ; and instructions have been issued for its use in subordinate Government offices.* It is forbidden to frank Finnish letters with Finnish postage stamps, and even the little unofficial badge, that had been devised by Finnish patriots, in which the words "Suomi"† and 'Finland' are inscribed on a black back-ground has been prohibited. Passes have been granted in great numbers by the Russian Government to Russian traders or hawkers with a view to propagate their language and their institutions. It would seem, that they are enjoined, to take up their abode among the Fins, to marry and multiply until they require Russian schools and churches. In the Baltic provinces, it is said, that a similar proceeding has taken place with no little success. It has been proved that Russian agents have striven to excite manifestations in Finland against the Imperial Government, so that the latter might be furnished with an excuse for armed repression.

Amid all these vexatious and aggressive acts the Fins have not allowed themselves to be goaded into violence. They are a brave and tenacious, but at the same time a somewhat phlegmatic people, slow to act. They are acquainted with grief; patient and long suffering. For centuries, indeed, their country was the battle ground of ambitious princes, ravaged by Russian troops, and extorted by Swedish tax gatherers. They remained faithful to Sweden when they were the victims of the foolish policy of its government, and their fidelity can be relied upon by their Imperial Grand Dukes as it was by their Swedish kings ; the former need only observe this solemn fact to be free from all uneasiness with regard to their Finnish subjects,—though invasion and civil war desolated the rest of the Empire.

The Fins will now have an opportunity of displaying their best qualities in the service of their country. The encroachment on their freedom has already served to rally the whole nation, and to efface the last vestiges of a polimical strife that raged for many years, when the partisans of the Finnish language (Fennomaniacs), contended with those of the Swedish, (Swedomanides), and when there was a tendency to depress the influence of the Swedish races that had hitherto preponderated in Finland, in favour of the revival of a Finnish nationality.‡

* Only 8,000 people, out of a population of 2,700,000 learn Russian as their mother tongue.—*The Times*, August 3rd, 1900.

† '*Suome*' is the Finnish word for Finland.

‡ There are not more than 400,000 people who employ the Swedish

The people are well aware that their best chance lies in a passive resistance, and they will await the course of events. They hope that Russia may be involved in foreign complication, till she is induced by her own interest to change her present policy in Finland.

It is not impossible that the Czar, who does not appear to be without nobility of character, may see the folly of his ways, and return to the wisdom of his ancestors. In the event of his demise, it would not be at all improbable that his successor followed the example of those monarchs, the greatest foe of democracy and the ardent champion of autocracy. Pobiedonostseff, who is at the same time Procurator of the Holy Synod, could well be replaced by another Councillor more inclined to a liberal policy,—in a country where Speranski, the enlightened minister of Alexander, induced, it is said, that monarch to confirm the ancient constitution of Finland.

But should, indeed, as it appears not without probability, the existence of the Finnish people, as a separate nationality, be brought to an untimely end, the virtual independence of both Sweden and Norway will become insecure; there would be no longer a friendly autonomy, intensely Scandinavian in many of its characteristics, to serve as a barrier against the intrusion of Russian influence and propoganda. Europe would have real grounds for apprehension lest the semicivilization of the East should replace Western progress in vast districts. After absorbing the Fins Russia would probably absorb kindred tribes, which lead a nomad life partly in Russian partly in Scandenavian territory; there is indeed another circumstance that may serve Russian ambition,—the railway that is now under construction from Finland through Sweden to the shores of the North Sea at Ofoten, and that in the future will carry a considerable portion of the vast produce of Siberia, and that will probably pass in part under Russian control. The prospect of a Russian naval station—which has already become a Topic for discussion, in that sea, could not be regarded by English statesmen with indifference. The present crisis therefore is of the last importance for the world,—it involves besides an attack or constitutional liberty as a system. *Finis Fennoniæ* would be even more fatal to freedom than the once famous "*Finis Poloniæ.*"

ARTHUR S. HOLMES.

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language habitually, and it is probable that there are still fewer inhabitants of a clearly Swedish origin; the Swedish language was for a long period the sole sub-official one and many Fins abandoned the use of their own tongue.

ART. II.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

OLYMPIA.

"The celebrated plain of Olympia is at present a long and even cornfield, containing only a few and imperfect vestiges of its former sumptuous ornaments. . . . . An excavation would probably here bring to light some of the finest sculptures of antiquity." Dodwell, 1805.

A LONG sweep of bay, a low coast-line, a small and battered break-water, a fringe of white houses above an insignificant quay, and—most unexpected as a greeting from this bright land—a dull and cloudy morning. Inland one discerns the irregular outline of low hills with a background of higher summits, and, far away over the jutting headland, which forms the bay of Katákolon, a mountain mass which must be Zante.

We land about 9 A.M. The quay is lined by a row of long-shore loafers, whose slovenly garb and appearance is not calculated to give a favourable first impression of the Hellenes of to-day; but these are Greeks of the town, curious idlers, the riff-raff of a fourth-rate seaport, very different from the peasantry up-country. A little train is waiting in a toy station alongside the quay. This is the 'special' for Pyrgos and Olympia, and probably the whole of the rolling stock of the Katakolon-Pyrgos line.

The carriages are of that convenient type, which is equipped at either end with a small gangway, and a railing on which you lean and watch the gliding scenery, pleasantly in the open air. All the way to Pyrgos—it is but ten miles—the country is given over to the culture of currants, each bush planted in a little valley of its own amid hillocks of dug-out earth. Very dry the countryside looks; and no wonder, since it is reported that there has been no rain for six months.

At Pyrgos we have to walk some three or four hundred yards from the terminus of the little ten-mile branch from Katakolon to the station of the Patras-Pyrgos railway, from which it is 13 miles to Olympia. Here another 'special' soon picks us up, and, winding in among the low hills of Elis, brings us to Olympia by 11. Roughly we have been following the line of the Alpheus, though we have not actually seen the river, but only its bordering hills: a couple of miles from the finish we had twisted round through these and turned into the valley of the Cladeus, a tributory which falls into the Alpheus from the north.

A road leads straight forward from the station, continuing the direction of the railway line, and about a quarter of a

mile along this are two houses, one on either side of the road; a little further on a much larger house on higher ground, and across the road to the left a big building, plain, orange-coloured, with some pretension to the classical style, which one divines to be the Museum. We are, indeed, already at the very portals of Olympia; the smaller houses are the two lesser hotels, Hotel Olympia, and Hotel Archaia Olympia, while the larger building on the right is the Grand Hotel, now the property of the Railway Company, arrogating to itself the claim to be "the largest and best hotel in the Peloponnesus," a claim which wanderings in the Peloponnese will duly discount.

From the front of the Grand Hotel we soon look down across a dip directly on to the excavated site of Olympia, a grey chaos of scattered stones and pillar-stumps in a rich setting of green fields and sylvan hill scenery. The way down to the little bridge over the Cladeus, which links the hotels to the Olympian plain, passes by the Museum. A few minutes later we have seen with our eyes the Hermes of Praxiteles, the only original work by his hand that has come down to us, almost the only separate piece of statuary in existence (as distinct from architectural sculptures) that can be assigned with certainty to one of the great Greek masters.

This above all other things at Olympia is the supreme goal of the traveller's desire, more even than the mighty wreck of the temple of Zeus, or the splendid relics of that temple's pediments, more than the ancient foundations of the Heraeum, where the Hermes stood in its first beauty, more than the noble Victory of Pæonius, or the Olympic Stadium itself. And rightly so. Great as is the fame of the Hermes and familiar even as are its form and outline from photograph and model, the reality when one passes into the inner room of the Museum at the end of the great hall, where Praxiteles' master-piece has been set up for safe-keeping, outruns expectation and, leaving no room for any other consciousness, subdues the mind to admiration and awe.

The Hermes was found buried in the deep layer of soil and crumbled walls covering the site of the Heraeum in the plain below the hill on which the Museum now stands. It happens that the traveller Pausanias in giving a list of the art treasures to be found in this temple of Hera, the oldest probably of all Greek temples of which remains survive, hits off neatly in a few words a broad description of the statue actually found on the platform of the Heraeum and now in the Museum at Olympia. 'And in after time' he says 'other offerings also were dedicated in the Heraeum, among them a marble Hermes with the infant Dionysos in his arms, the work of Praxiteles.'

It cannot reasonably be doubted that the statue before our eyes is that seen by Pausanias in the second century A. D. when he came to Olympia: the proof of authenticity gains cogency from its very indirectness, from the incidental character of Pausanias's note. No one who visits the Museum at Olympia need doubt that he looks on the true work of Praxiteles. Yet, indeed, he who beholds the beauty of the living marble will scarcely need external proofs. "Hermes is represented standing with the infant Dionysos on his left arm, and the weight of the body resting on the right foot. His form is the perfection of manly grace and vigour; the features of his oval face, under the curly hair that encircles his brow, are refined, strong, and beautiful; their expression is tender and slightly pensive. The profile is of the straight Greek type with 'the bar of Michael Angelo' over the eyebrows." (Frazer, Pausanias, Vol. III, p. 597.)

The most unreserved praise has been lavished on the Hermes by the most competent judges who have seen it, alike for sheer beauty and for the mastery it displays of the technical details of the sculptor's craft. The traveller who follows in their steps is little likely to think the most eloquent of these praises exaggerated. We are in presence of an absolutely perfect work of art. The eyes sate themselves with loveliness. "No representations," says Mr. Frazer, "give an adequate idea of the beauty of the original. Engravings of it are often no better than caricatures. . . . Looking at the original, it seems impossible to conceive that Praxiteles or any man ever attained to a greater mastery over stone than is exhibited in this astonishing work." The secret of the Hermes is indeed the secret of all perfection and incommunicable. It can neither be copied, nor described: it must be seen.

And surely it is worth the journey to see it. No disappointment need be feared. The Hermes is unique, incomparable, exquisite. To see it is to join the enthusiastic chorus of admiration. Were there nothing else to see at Olympia, nay, if there were nothing else in all Hellas, the lover of the beautiful would still be compelled to voyage from the ends of the earth to see the Hermes of Praxiteles.

But there is much more at Olympia itself, not to speak of all Greece: much in the Museum, in the plain below still more, more even to bewilderment. From the Hermes we go straight to the Stadium. For if the Hermes is the supreme work of art to be seen at Olympia, the race-course, hard by the sacred Altis, is the centre and source of all that made Olympia wonderful. Here took place the foot-races, most time-honoured of the contests that formed the Olympic Game —except for that first grim race ordained by Oenomaos (out of

which tradition said the games originated), in which the stakes were the hand of his daughter Hippodamia, and the life of her suitor Pelops. Here was gathered once in four years that unique assembly so characteristic of ancient Hellas, so unlike anything to be found in our day.

To reach the race-course from the Museum we descend to the small wooden structure which bridges the deep brown cutting through which the Cladeus flows and traverse the whole breadth of the excavations, passing first between the Gymnasium and Palaestra. We notice in the latter the grooves in the stone-floor of the wrestling ground—the grooves were to give the wrestlers better foothold, but we wonder if the stony edges were equally suitable for a fall. We enter the Altis* not far from the Heraeum, on the platform of which the stumps of several pillars still stand some six or seven feet high, and continue straight along by the ruined treasuries at the base of Kronos hill, till we reach a long passage, formerly a covered way, lying somewhat lower than the general level of the Altis. Of this passage a small portion of the arched roof still remains, but only a few feet. The sides are curiously pitted with great disfiguring rents, where marauding hands have torn out the iron rivets which held the stones together. The arch shows that this passage belongs to Roman, not Hellenic times; is no part, therefore, (as, indeed, much else to be found in the plan of the ruins) of the Olympia that the imagination is busied with, the Olympia that schooled free and federated Hellas, the Olympia of the Hellas that faced and drove back the Persian, the Hellas of Herodotus and Pindar and Aristophanes and Plato. As soon as we are through this passage, we are standing at one end of the Olympic Stadium. So much is certain and satisfying: the rest is doubt and disappointment. We are on the ground of all the human and historical interest that belongs to the name: this much is beyond question; but the Stadium has not been completely excavated (as is not now happily the case with the Stadium at Delphi): there has only been a cross section cut at either end to determine its length and breadth, so that for a complete reconstruction of its appearance one has to fall back on the imagination. All that we actually see is a field under cultivation, a trifle more level than the fields adjoining, but otherwise (except for the cross sections which one does not see at a little distance) indistinguishable from the rest of the plain outside the excavations. Whether any tiers of seats might be found beneath is still open to speculation. There is at all events no visible sign of such as one stands on the site

* Altis (Ἄλτις) is merely a perverted form of Alsos (ἄλσος) grove v. Paus. V, 10.

of the Olympic Stadium to-day. Splendid as have been the achievements of German archæologists in the plain of Olympia they have not made quite a clean job of it; a good deal even now remains to do. In this respect the French at Delphi, to judge by the thoroughness and finish of their work on the site from which Castri has so wonderfully vanished, have already bettered their instructors.

Looking to the position of the Stadium relative to Kronos hill one does not very readily see how the natural slope of the ground could have been effectively used to seat spectators at the Games. Close to the side of the Stadium there is no perceptible rise, and the actual slope of the ridge trends away back from the race-course instead of running parallel to it. Kronos itself does, indeed, dominate the Altis, but besides being quite steep, almost precipitous, it is too far off for a really good view of the running.

Next after the Stadium and outside the Museum interest centres in the Temple of Zeus; and a stately temple it must have been, rivalling in grandeur the Parthenon itself. Not to the ravages of time, nor the wasteful destructiveness of war, nor the antagonism of creeds, do we owe the worst wrecking of the glories of the Olympian plain, but to the violence of nature. It was two terrible earthquakes in the sixth century A. D. that laid these mighty columns low. The evidence is before our eyes, as we stand on the temple platform. On either side, inclined at an angle as the shock of the earth-tremor heaved them, lie the gigantic columns, the ponderous drums alongside each other in rows, like huge beads on a string, detached, but preserving even now distinctly the columnar form. We see that the columns fell outward to either side of the stylobate, but more freely on the south than on the north. From the angles at which they lie the seismologist could probably calculate the direction of the waves that shook them down. These things are left, the massive platform and the shattered ruins of gigantic pillars and in the Museum hard by are the fragments of the pediment sculptures [illegible] metopes; but of the temple as a building, [illegible]visions only such indications remain as [illegible]son for its imaginative reconstruction. [illegible]ut the foundations of a temple and [illegible]e sculptures. Perhaps it is wonder-[illegible]rvives considering the vicissitudes of [illegible]n the plain between the Alpheus and [illegible]t that in 1805 Leake found the site [illegible]ome Turks, who were building them-[illegible]Mussulman stronghold some ten miles [illegible]quite past hoping that some day the

scattered drums will again be set one above another, and stately columns once more rear their mighty forms from the pavement of the Temple of Zeus?

To the eastern front we find a number of pedestals which remind us how the space before the temple (as indeed the whole enclosure of the Altis) was once crowded with splendid statuary: conspicuous among these is the massive three-cornered base on which once rested the Victory of Pæonius. The Victory herself is in the Museum, wonderfully preserved for modern eyes to see. For this and for the Hermes we have sufficient cause for gratitude. But the greatest glory of the Olympic temple, the masterpiece which drew the ancients to Olympia, as the Hermes draws us now, and which, perhaps, excelled in splendour of execution the Hermes of Praxiteles, as the Hermes excels the works of lesser sculptors is irreparably lost. This was the chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the master work of Phidias, described with loving minuteness by Pausanias, the statue which if we may accept the verdict of antiquity, was the supreme achievement of Greek genius in the representation of the divine; of which Dio Chrysostom wrote in the first century A. D. "Methinks that if one who is heavy laden in mind, who has drained the cup of misfortune and sorrow in life, and whom sweet sleep visits no more, were to stand before this image, he would forget all the griefs and troubles that are incident to the life of man."* The loss is all the more to be deplored, in that no copies of the Zeus of Phidias have come down to us and its form can only be insecurely conjectured from descriptions and coins.

The great altar of Zeus was in the open space to the left of the temple (as one looks E.) and about half way beween the N.-E. corner of the Temple of Zeus and the S.-E. corner of the Heraeum. It stood two and twenty feet high when Pausanias saw it, and its upper part was built out of the ashes of sacrifice, which accumulated year by year. The only trace of it now remaining is a green oval hollow in the ground.

The Heraeum, or Temple of Hera, the other memorable temple platform at Olympia is to the N[illegible] of th[illegible] of Zeus, near the entrance to the Alt[illegible] close under Kronos hill. It has spe[illegible] oldest Greek temple yet discovered, [illegible] authority to the tenth or eleventh ce[illegible] quite certainly not later than the ei[illegible] where the Hermes of Praxiteles anc[illegible] it was actually found in May 1877. I[illegible] features. The platform is unusuall[illegible] breadth. While the lower part of th[illegible]

* Dio Chrys. Or. XII. See Frazer's Pausa[illegible]

upper was built of unburnt bricks. This has a very special interest in connection with the Hermes. The bricks, being merely sun-dried, crumbled and turned back into clay. In this clay the Hermes was found embedded and it is doubtless to the softness of this bed and to its protective nature that the excellent preservation of the statue is due. It is, of course, from the presence of the bed of clay that the use of brick for the walls is primarily inferred. The walls of the shrine were supported on the inside by buttresses four on either side: there were also eight internal columns and the buttresses met these columns alternately. The most curious feature of all is that no two pillars of the peristyle are exactly alike. They differ in size, in the number of flutings, in their ornamentation, even in their mode of structure, for one or two are monolithic. This remarkable variation makes it probable that the pillars of the Temple of Hera were all originally of wood; that as these wooden pillars decayed in course of time, they were replaced one by one by pillars of stone. As the new pillars were put up singly and severally at widely different times, they varied with the caprice of the architect or the fashion of the day. In support of this conjecture we have, moreover, the distinct statement of Pausanias that one of two pillars of the back-chamber was in his time of oak. All this fits in with the assumption of the great age of the temple; for it is an accepted theory that the use of stone pillars in architecture is a development from the use of the trunks of trees, just as the Gothic arch is said to have been suggested by the meeting branches of two trees in an avenue.

The clouds had been gathering through the morning of Saturday, April 1st, and soon after we reached the Stadium a sharp shower fell. The seven feet or so of covered way served opportunely the purpose of partial shelter till it was over. As we return to the hotel for lunch after further explorations, we just escape a heavier down-pour. The rain was, however, very welcome, for it made the afternoon much pleasanter. The morning had been oppressive.

After lunch we first returned to the Museum. The sculptures from the gables of the Temple of Zeus are of extraordinary interest. Though they have by no means escaped mutilation, enough is left to enable the spectator to form fairly adequate conclusions as to the effectiveness of the groups as they originally appeared on the pediments of the temple: far more remains, for instance, than of the corresponding sculptures from the Parthenon among the Elgin Marbles. Moreover the central hall of the Museum, where they are placed, is so proportioned that its length corresponds to the breadth of the temple and the members of each group

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can therefore be arranged in the relative positions, which they originally occupied.* There is still, however, the drawback that they are level with the eye, instead of at an elevation of about 70 feet, as designed, and this further disadvantage that the limited space of the hall does not admit of the spectator's standing far enough back to get at a glance the effect of the group as a single whole. The group from the western gable, representing the Fight between the Centaurs and Lapiths is far the more impressive. The several lively images of conflict, each consisting of two or three figures engaged in desperate struggle are extraordinarily vigorous and they combine to form a powerful and effective whole. Especially striking, even repulsive in its strong realism is the group of the 'biting Centaur': a Lapith has caught the Centaur round the neck; the Centaur has fixed his teeth in his assailant's forearm and holds the arm fast with both his hands to prevent its being withdrawn: the savagery of the biting beast, the agony of the man bitten, the stress of the physical struggle of hand against hand are given with life-like intensity.

The eastern sculptures, representing Oenomaos and Pelops preparing to start in the chariot race are comparatively tame and have a somewhat stiff effect. The two groups are in strong contrast, the one all life, energy, conflict; the other all statuesque repose. Yet there is a certain broad likeness in style and execution, so much so that the balance of expert opinion is tending to reject the authority of Pausanias and ascribe both sets to the same artist or at all events to the same school. Pausanias distinctly assigns the Western group to Alcamenes, a pupil of Phidias, and the Eastern to Pæonius, whom we know to be the sculptor of the Victory. It seems rather a strong measure to set aside the plain statement of an authority so generally trustworthy as Pausanias, who had better opportunities than we have to ascertain the facts; and it is only barely credible that it should have been forgotten at Olympia in Pausanias' time, what artists had executed the sculptures on the chief temple there. Happily the lay visitor may be content merely to admire, without entering deeply into the controversies of archæologists. He will probably, however, be prepared to agree that there is a broad likeness in the two sets of sculptures. Both shew a certain bold vigour and largeness of conception without attaining to any great refinement of beauty. Their interest is immense, both on account of the subjects they represent and from their connection with the prostrate Temple of Zeus. They do not, it must be admitted, attain to the highest standard of artistic skill. Mr. Frazer

* The figures as now grouped are not all quite correctly placed. See Frazer, Vol. III, p. 516.

even questions if there is a single figure in either group that deserves to be called beautiful.

There are good plaster restoration of these sculptures in the centre of the hall, which give useful aid towards picturing the original effect of the groups, when perfect. For, though more has been recovered than could once have reasonably been hoped for, we are after all looking only on the wrecks of great works. The figures are sorely mangled and battered : a trunk without a head, a head without distinguishable features, here a bit of an arm, there a few fragments of marble barely recognizable—the frame-work and suggestion only of magnificent groups of sculpture. The Metopes, representing the Labours of Hercules, though they do not so masterfully claim the attention, have more artistic merit, and reward study with a revelation of more refined beauties. They exhibit the famous "Labours" with uncommon spirit. The most striking and best preserved groups are 'Hercules and Atlas,' 'Hercules dragging Cerberus from Hades' and the cleansing of the Augean stables. The energy with which the hero wields his broom in the last-mentioned is, in a generation prone to feeble half-measures, extremely edifying. The Victory of Pæonius is very beautiful. In this case, again, there is no doubt we have a genuine work. Pausanias tells us that a Victory of Pæonius was here at Olympia, and here is a Victory on a pedestal which still bears the name of Pæonius. The inscription on the pedestal runs : "The Messenians and Naupactians dedicated this statue to Olympian Zeus as a tithe from the spoils of their enemies." And below in smaller letters "The work of Pæonius of Mende, who also was successful in the competition for the pinnacle on the temple." It stood originally to the right front of the Temple of Zeus on the lofty triangular pedestal already noticed, the lower half of which remains in its place, while on the upper the Victory still rises within the great hall of the Museum. We find here, as in the Hermes, the mysterious touch of genius, if not in quite the same transcendent degree. The Victory so surpasses in [illegible]finable quality of beauty the sculptures of the F[illegible]hat it is difficult to believe them by the [illegible]f the Victory cannot be h[illegible] mutilated—the head, t[illegible] one hardly grasps at t[illegible] design, as appears on c[illegible] up below : the wings ar[illegible] ful drapery bellying [illegible] figure, even in its presen[illegible] creation, the perfect em[illegible] flight. As we look at, [illegible] body floats and sinks,

There is much more, garnered from the marble-sown plain, in the Museum built at Olympia by the patriotic munificence of M. Syngros (and therefore yclept the Συγγρειον, Syngreion), far too much for part of one short day, which does not even suffice for the things of supreme importance ; much of great interest even in the small side-rooms, if one can find time to glance through them :—exquisite drapery here and there, stored amid a jumble of odd fragments, here a head and bust of great beauty, there a graceful recumbent figure, draped statues and torsos that would claim careful study, if they were not thrust out of view by the greater and more perfect relics that claim all our time : some pleasing statuary also of Roman times. One wants days instead of hours at Olympia. Among the curiosities of these side galleries are a stone mass 112 lbs. in weight, intended to be hurled with one hand it is said—a difficult feat judging by its clumsy shape and make ; a gable end from the Treasury of the Megarians sculptured with the battle of the gods and giants, the acroterion or pinnacle of the Heræum in terra-cotta. As for the 30,000 bronzes said to have been shovelled out of the 20 feet of soil beneath which the Olympian plain lay buried so many hundred years, they are fortunately, seeing the limits of the capabilities of eye and brain, not in evidence.

There is happily, we find no rigid exactitude in closing the Museum doors at 4 P.M. By the complaisance of the door-keeper we linger some little while longer, coming forth at last to a serene evening. All is peace, stillness, solitude. The meadows of the Cladeus look fresher for the showers of the morning. The outlines of the environing hills are softened in the mellow light. The sides and pointed summit of Kronos hill are beautifully green. The air is clear and clean ; rolling masses of cloud and the deep blue of space are magnificently alternated in the skies. It is a scene of rare beauty and tranquility, soothing the mind to sober reflectiveness, delighting the eye purely as a prospect of physical beauty, nature at her loveliest, apart from the thrilling [illegible]ions with which the little plain between the Alp[illegible]eems. The eternal charm of n[illegible]des of human fortune. [illegible] shattered, the stately [illegible]ver and hill, the rich [illegible]f waters and the varied [illegible]elighted Pausanias 1700 [illegible]e very few references he [illegible]untries through which he

[illegible]l space in the little plain [illegible]Beyond spreads a varied [illegible] rocky ridges meeting

the sky in the far distance. The Alpheus winds pleasantly through the gap to the front and right, bounding the Olympic Plain on the S.—no very ample river in spite of Pausanias eulogy. The Cladeus is almost at our feet, now quite an inconsiderable streamlet, hidden in its deep cutting of red earth, though credited with most of the work of burying Olympia under 20 feet of alluvium—no small service by the way to archæology. But looking to the position of the plain at the confluence of the river and its energetic tributary, and having regard to the way in which the valley is shut in by the engirding hills, the riddle of the loss and recovery of Olympia is fairly easy to read. One hundred and fifty years ago Olympia was little more than a tradition; layers of earth and sand covered the site since laid bare by excavation, and made of it an (approximately) uniform plain. In 1766 when Chandler (an Oxford divine and Fellow of Magdalen, sent out by the Dilettanti Society) came here, he did, indeed, "find the walls of the cell of a very large temple, standing many feet high and well-built, the stones all uninjured"* but apparently nothing else. In 1805, when Leake visited the scene even this was gone: all the visible remains were some pieces of fluted Doric columns white marble and "a single fragment of a Doric shaft of porous of enormous size." "At present," he says, "the vale of Olympia in the part adjacent to the hills is level and carpeted with a fine turf, supplying winter pasture to sheep. Near the Alpheius the land, annually fertilized by the inundations of winter, affords a good soil for the growth of maize" (Leake Peloponnesiaca, pp. 7, 8). He explains that "one of the agas of Lala had been lately engaged in excavating the site of the temple of Jupiter for the purpose of carrying away its foundations, the building itself with the exception of a few fragments having been entirely removed" (*ib.*, p. 106). Hence the complete disappearance of the walls seen by Chandler. Then in 1829 came the French 'Expedition de Morée,' which worked for six weeks on the site of the Temple of Zeus and inaugurated the great work of excavation. "They cleared a great part of the stylobate, obtained an exact measurement of it, discovered the lowest portions of thirteen columns, and would probably have found more, if they had completed their excavation: they brought to light also, some remains of the metopes of the pronaos and posticum" (in particular the fine group of Hercules and the Cretan Bull, now in the Louvre) "and had the satisfaction of observing that they are in exact conformity with the description of Pausanias" (Leake Pelop., pp. 12, 13). So things remained for another fifty years, till in 1875 through the inspiration of the dead Winckelmann, the enlightened liberality of the Crown

* Chandler travels in Greece, ch. lxxvi, p. 332.

Prince of Prussia (afterwards the Emperor Frederick) and the devoted zeal of a band of German archlæogists, the grand work was taken in hand which has resulted in restoring to us the ground plan of Olympia, as it may be traced out to-day. The excavating continued from 1875 to 1881, nearly £40,000 was expended ; and even so the work is incomplete.

Yet what a ruin after all is here. As we look down upon the excavations from this vantage-ground, what a wilderness of stone and rock and brown earth and grassy verdure it all is ! Without the key which enables us to piece together this Chinese puzzle of cross-walls and fragments it might well seem a hopeless chaos. The whole area is strewn with disorderly masses of masonry ; here and there a low line of wall crops out, crossed and confused by others like it. Not a single whole column standing that can be seen from here—scarcely half a dozen in all this excavated space :—only a forest of stumps seldom five feet high. What a dismal wreck; if imagination can conjure up for a moment the picture of Olympia in its splendour, whether in the palmy days when the current of Greek life ran free and strong, or in the more magnificent, but less interesting period, when Hellenic freedom was under-propped and overshadowed by the irresistible might of Rome ; when the Altis was thronged with priests and worshippers, and every day half a hundred altars smoked with sacrifice. How much more dismal, if we call up the still more brilliant scene, when every fifth year the Games, were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, when pilgrims and sightseers crowded hither from every place that owned the Hellenic name, when gorgeous processions wound from the Temple to the Stadium and from the Stadium to the Temple ; when dense throngs watched the contests in the race-course and the wrestling-ground, and the hill reechoed the eager shouts that cheered on the competitors and hailed the victor.

All this has vanished as a dream, leaving no trace but a few inimitable fragments of marble, and these complicated foundations of strange stone, which proves, if you look into it, an agglomeration of tiny shells. And yet there is not a wall or fragment which has not been identified and named with plausibility : such is the painstaking accuracy of Pausanias and the pious diligence of German archæologists ! Of the buildings so carefully enumerated by the old traveller and writer there is not one but has been recognized and located. The list is a long one. There are altogether five important buildings (not to speak of a dozen treasuries) within the bounding walls of the Altis, and at least six large buildings without, the Leonidaeum in particular vast in extent.

Among them is a Byzantine Church on Hellenic foundations,

and the foundations are conjectured to be those of the Workshop of Phidias, where the great image of Zeus was wrought. The Bouleuterion or Council Hall with its three-fold structure and its two apsidal endings is also very remarkable.

Not the least memorable feature of this transformation and recovery is the prophetic insight by which these grand results were anticipated, the resolute faith in which the lovers of the beautiful have been impelled to so arduous an undertaking. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, one of the founders of the philosophy of the beautiful, author of the 'History of Ancient Art, was one of the first to direct attention to the subject. He expressly urged the attempt to explore the site thoroughly, "I feel assured," he said that there is a harvest to be reaped in Elis which will surpass every hope, and that a thorough exploration of that district will throw a flood of light upon the history of art." We may read with curious interest, too, Leake's speculation in 1835, founded largely on his own investigations on the site. "There is every reason to believe," he says in his Peloponnesiaca, p. 99, "that in the course of the last fifteen centuries all the south-eastern extremity of the Altis has been destroyed by the river, and consequently that all the remains of buildings and monuments in that part of the Sacred Grove have been buried beneath the new alluvial soil, or carried into the river." He explains that "the waters of the Cladeus and of the Cronian ridges have been slowly, but constantly, raising all that part of the upper level, which has remained unmoved by the river; as becomes instantly manifest on viewing the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, the pavement of which is now some feet below the natural surface." He even anticipates with sagacious accuracy the actual manner in which the treasures now in the Museum have been recovered. In speaking of the general destruction of works of art with the triumph of Christianity, he points out how "the monuments of Olympia could hardly have escaped," and adds "some of them, however, may have been thrown down and involved in the ruins of buildings, and may have escaped notice, protected by the depopulation of Peloponnesus and the secluded position of Olympia, until the peculiar liability of this place to natural changes may have caused some of the remaining works of sculpture to be buried under the surface of the soil; and these may still remain together with many monuments valuable to archæology" (*ib.*, p. 105).

After another hour among the ruins it seemed good to us to climb Kronos hill and see the sunset. This should, by no means be omitted by the traveller, whose quest is of memorable experiences. The hill is of no great height, 405 feet above sea level, and a few minutes take you to the top. There is a

narrow path winding up from the road running by the Cladeus northward, but it is easy enough to go straight up behind the treasuries, if one picks one's way a little heedfully among the bushes. The view from the summit will abundantly repay the effort.

We watched the sun go down, then made our way back to the hotel, and having an early start in view for the morrow, were early to bed. As for 'the largest and best hotel in the Peloponnesus'—it was well enough, and certainly large; but we fared better at about half the cost at several places during the rest of our pilgrimage. The 'Syntagma' at Tripolitza was decidedly better all round: for our bedroom at the Grand Hotel, Olympia was but poorly furnished and the 'cuisine' indifferent. There were only three other guests (Greeks) besides our two selves, at dinner: possibly the cook might do better with the incentive of greater numbers.

It had been a great day! But great as the day had been, we lay down that night after a few simple preparations for the morrow with a leaping up of the heart and an eager expectation of morning light. For before the sun was fairly above the horizon we meant to be up and over the Alpheus and footing it for the mountains. And to walk in the early morning under Greek skies with pilgrim staff and knapsack, self-dependent and untrammelled, free of cares and conventions, and with no other baggage than what one carries on one's back, breathing the live air and drinking the morning freshness, is worth all the excavations and museums in Europe.

H. R. J.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.

ART. III.—RETURNED EMPTY.

(*Continued from October 1900, No. 222.*)

CHAPTER V.

1887.

ALIKE in public affairs and in the trifling events with which these notes are chiefly concerned the year 1887 was marked by less anxiety and less gloom than the twelve months by which it had been preceded. The separation between Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Unionists became quite final, unless an exception be made of Sir G. Trevelyan who endeavoured for some time to discover a *modus vivendi*. Mr. Parnell threw the weight of a compact following of some ninety members into the scale of the opposition; but the cause of the Government was warmly espoused by the *Times* newspaper, that journal having published a letter purporting to contain an expression of the Irish leader's approval in regard to the murder of Cavendish and Bourke in Dublin, for which the proprietors were eventually fain to compound by a payment of £5,000.

The great event of the year was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession, of which some notice will be found under the date of June 21st. The writer passed his time between London, Oxford, and the Channel Islands; preparing a book* and some contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* published by Smith and Elder under the able *editorship of Mr. Leslie Stephen.*

Thursday, January 8th.—Read *La France Juive* by M. Drumont.† The book is not without force, exhibiting both research and courage. Unfortunately it is weakened by exaggeration and by obvious omissions. It has been said that every nation has the Jews that it deserves; and perhaps the merits of France have not been the greatest in this matter. But when, going beyond the frontier, he treats Spinoza as a mere spectacle-maker the unfairness is palpable; and he makes no mention of the Mendelssohns or Herschels, which is absurd.

Thursday, 20th.—Oxford.—Debate at the Union on the Irish

* This was an edition of Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, finally brought out in 1894. During the year I also wrote some satires, under the title of "Juvenal in Piccadilly."

† M. Edonard Drumont began the Anti-Semitic Crusade which, taken up by some of the French Clergy and their disciples, reached formidable dimensions in 1899, coming to a head in the acrimonies inspired by the Dreyfus case.

Government question: none of the undergraduate speakers very effective, on either side. Mr. T. P. O'Connor made a plausible speech; and having the two-fold advantage of parliamentary practice and the special suspension of the time-limit, gave his views in an address that was ready, clever, and well-delivered. I do not suppose that very many of the audience were in sympathy with him, but they listened and applauded with the generosity of youth.

Sunday, 23rd.—Dined with Rogers at Worcester: a pleasant party. Spent the end of the evening at his house, under a shower of facts, figures, and anecdotes.

Wednesday, 26th.—A long walk with Nettleship.* He talked of Matthew Browne and Chaucer; very entertaining and instructive.

Monday, 31st.—Thorold Rogers, in spite of strong peculiarities, impresses himself on one as an important personality, wise and honest. Have been informed and stimulated of late both by his conversation and by his writings. His *Work and Wages* contains original first-hand knowledge; but one notices omissions, *e.g.* Nothing is said of commanditarian partnership, which many persons accept as a solution of questions between employer and operative. Nor can I see any sufficient reference to the great addition to the currency, after the Spanish discoveries in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which must have been a main cause why prices rose faster than wages; and affected—what he notices—the prosperity which had prevailed among the working classes in the period immediately preceding. He goes, indeed, so far as to say that low prices *must* raise wages.

February, Wednesday 2nd.—Sad case of a youth who has just taken his degree, and now committed to the Assizes on a charge of stealing books from the Union Library. What a blow for his parents!

April (Jersey), *Thursday 21st.*—A strange experience at 3-10 A.M. I woke with a feeling as if I had been struck on the nape of the neck. On going for an early walk learned that a shock of earthquake had been felt in the Island; and some neighbours assert that their house had reeled and rocked. So the great creature whose parasites we are must have had a spasm.

May (London), *Monday, 9th.*—To London: trouble with publishers: my projected edition of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* does not find much favour.

Weduesday, 11th.—Advised at India Office to migrate to Cambridge; given to understand that none of the Indian

* Richard Lewis N. succeeded T. H. Green at Balliol, and perished on Mt. Blanc in 1892. An accomplished and very charming man.

noblemen would ever be sent to Oxford. Saw some good paintings at Grosvenor Gallery in charge of my old friend Beck, who has some good water colours of his own. The Academy a very fair show, especially in the way of portraits by Watts, Millais, Onless, and Herkomer. Onless especially clever with the human eye; Millais the man whose work calls to you from the wall: you cannot pass his pictures without looking at them long.

Saturday, 14*th*.—At the National Gallery, where I relished the Dutch pictures more than I used to do, and the Turner's less. Is that a deterioration of one's own taste, or can it be that Turner's tints are fading? I once thought that his atmospheric effects illuminated the room: to-day they looked chalky.

(Oxford), *Thursday*, 19*th*.—Farewell to M., who advised me against settling family here; saying it was only "a Club, to be visited as a change."

Left at noon, halting at Winchester. Went over the vast and ponderous Cathedral of Perpendicular architecture on Norman nucleus: *soi disant* tomb of Red King, probably the monument of a Bishop.

On return to the station met Lord Ly[illegible], who did not seem well: our conversation cut short by train in which I departed for Ryde where I passed a few pleasant days as guest of my old schoolfellow, Gen. N.

(London), *June. Wednesday* 8*th*.—Train crowded with people going to Ascot. How sheep-like we are! Very small percentage of these crowds could tell you *why* they go.

(Oxford), *Saturday* 11*th*.—Voted for H. Godfray, of Exeter, as President of the Union: a courteous and resolute young student, who will make his mark hereafter.* In the evening to a large room in Holywell to hear a lecture on Political Economy by Cottar Morison: the undergraduates called it "The Cottar's Saturday night."

Sunday, 12*th*.—A pleasant afternoon with some interesting company in M.'s garden, the brightness of summer shining on the bloom of spring. One was reminded of Omar Khayyāni's parties six hundred years ago. Certainly it is hard to imagine an Oxford Don calling on us to stay him with flagons; or saying, in so many words—

> "Ah Comrades! strengthen me with cups of wine
> Until my sallow cheeks like ruby shine;
> And wash me in it after I am dead,
> And stitch my shroud with tendrils of the vine."

* He became Registrar (Greffiers) of the Royal Court of Jersey, and his premature death cut short a most promising career.

Also there must have been, in the Persian programme, an element of disreputability from which we were free to-day: yellow maidens odorous of garlic and cocoa-nut oil. But though men differ, from time to time, in the details of their enjoyment, the general principle will be always much the same—*weib wein, und gesang*: such is the theme, with whatever variations.

Tuesday, 14*th*.—After luncheon went to Convocation to receive honorary degree of M. A.: was kept in the *Apodyterium* while the "grace" was being passed: then three macebearers came out and ushered one into the hall in academicals. Here the public Orator (Dr. Merry) came and took charge, presenting one to the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Bellamy of S. John's) in a Latin speech: on conclusion of which the Vice-Chancellor said, "Domine! accipio te in gradum magistis artium honoris causâ"; then M. came up in his humorous way, handing one the speech which—he said—one would certainly write to him for in the evening if he did not prevent the correspondence. The Vice-Chancellor shook hands as did also many M. A. friends who were there.

Afterwards to the Warden's Garden-party at Wadham; the place looked lovely. Division at night in the Union, and "Address" lost, The voting evidently influenced by the speeches.

Wednesday, 15*th*.—Began some reviewing for *Academy* and *Eng. Historical Review*.

Thursday, 16*th*.—Dined with S. at Corpus: the evening was hot and instead of Common Room we sate in the Fellow's garden. It used to be the fashion to speak of the Oxford dons as drones: in any case they knew how to make pleasant hives for themselves. Where else could such graceful life be led as in these mediæval harbours of repose?

Friday, 17*th*.—Dined at Wadham, meeting the Rev.——who had been an undergraduate with me 44 years ago. Youth lingers in his manner and his smile, but he gave a sad account of the present state of a rural Parish. He holds a College living of which the income has fallen from £750 to £150 per annum. Farmers could still pay tithe if they would; but according to him they simply *will not*. A very startling condition of affairs if generally true: if not it is the alternative of agricultural ruin, which is even worse. I remember in my youth one of the arguments against the proposed repeal of the Corn Laws that it would be fatal to home agriculture. It is quite possible that with the immense increase of English population taxes on food could not be maintained; but the result may be to render the British Islands a mere hive of manufacturing produce, quite dependent on imported food,

and deprived of the peasantry who formed our good old armies of Waterloo and Blenheim times. Something of the same kind led to the decline of the Roman Empire. *Abrit omen!*

Sunday, 19th.—To S. Mary's: sermon by Dr. Stubbs, a fine head and eloquent tongue. Lunch with Prof. Rhys,* and afternoon at M.'s. Dined with Firth† at Balliol, and heard the concert in the Hall—one of Jowett's institutions, I believe. Some interesting talk with Mr. G. Putnam, the American publisher.

(London), *Tuesday, 21st.*—A great crowd at the Athenæum (said to be 800 ladies and gentlemen) to witness the procession to and from the Abbey, in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession: I had a ticket for the exterior gallery but gave it up to a lady and stood over the portico with Sir Tho. Wade (formerly Ambassador in China). We had a fine view of the cortége; the guard of Princes, headed by the noble figure of the Crown Prince of Prussia in cuirass and silver helmet: great heat, and people occasionally carried off in Police-ambulances. Rev. C. W. came over from the Abbey for the purpose of seeing me and obtaining lunch; which—in spite of my ticket—the rules of the Club prevented me from offering. Droll effect of Oxford dons in scarlet Doctor's robes, perched on the top of a four-wheeler. Dined with Morison at Hampstead, and met pleasant company.

The day has been the climax of an era; and it was a privilege to have seen the gracious Lady (whom I remember as a girl), borne along the crowded and decorated streets escorted by over threescore royal personages—some her own offspring; acknowledging with smiles and bows the greetings of her [illegible]ts from all the ends of the earth.‡

[illegible]e next few days were passed in the Isle of Wight in a [illegible]l house and grounds, where the sea washed the brink [illegible]awn. I noted a curious parallel to the case of Sandwich at the little old village of Brading, now high and dry, which is credibly recorded to have furnished four ships for the repulse of the Spanish Armada three hundred years ago. At Carisbrooke found the Custodian of the Castle living in a part of the old building with his daughter—a very fine girl

* John Rhys: famous Keltic scholar, now Prince of Jesus (1900).

† Charles H. Firth; late scholar of Balliol and a high authority on the Cromwellian period.

Dr. Stubbs is of course known as the Bishop of Oxford, and sometime Prof. of Modern History (Regius).

‡ There was, as is well-known, a sort of repetition of the scene ten years later; without, indeed, the noble Prussian son-in-law removed in the interim by a lingering death. But the presence of Colonial and Indian representatives distinguished this from the original Jubilee.

who gave our party tea. She said they expected to be turned out in September, when she had hopes of employment as a Barmaid. It seemed a rather sad downcome for a Major's daughter.]

Wednesday, 29th.—A visit from Gen. Abbott.* He has lived a life of the most romantic adventure and devoted public service. He bore a part in making history on more than one occasion, and had been deliberately mutilated in his right hand while in captivity among the Afghans: it was strange to see this veritable hero living alone at Ryde, a gentle sweet-voiced little old man, not without a touch of something like poetry. He expressed a great jealousy of Russian progress in Central Asia, and thinks that we have let her approach too near our frontier. Like most of his class he was unable to say how the process might have been arrested.

July, Friday, 1st.—By Mail-steamer from Southampton to Jersey. Reached Guernsey at 9 A.M. Conversing on deck with the Captain and a French gentleman, was asked by the former to continue the conversation whilst he, the Captain, attended to some point of duty elsewhere. The Frenchman was tall and handsome, and we had a long talk on things in general. When asked, what he thought of the rumoured alliance between France and Russia he answered, frankly, that it would depend on what projects the two governments had in common; adding reflectively:—"Chagne nation a ses interêts." On my making the obvious reply—"Ils ne sont pas desinteresses, M. M. les Russes" he replied—"Mon Dieu! ils seraient bien bêtes and 'ils l'é'taient." I then asked, what he thought of the prospects of monarchy in France, on which subject he proved less open. By way of starting him I suggested that it must be a difficult thing for the House of Orleans to administ[illegible] the succession of the Cte de Chamford; to run up[illegible] expressed it—the White Flag with one hand while wavi[illegible] Tricolour in the other. By this time we were enter[illegible] harbour of G. Helier, round which were ranged a [illegible] people, all shouting—"Vive le Roi!" To which my companion responded by waving his hat; and then for the first time dawned upon me the appalling truth that I had been airing opinions on French politics for the behoof of the Count of Paris.

Saturday, 2nd.—To Noirmont, where I accompanied the Seigneur to pay our respects to Philippe VII, who was encamped in the Hotel at the gate of the Manor-grounds. We

* Made K. C. B. in 1894—in his 87th year; and died two years after. Sir James rode from Herat to Khiva in 1839; and wrote an account of the ride, which was published by W. H. Allen & Co. (3rd edition, 2 vols., 1884.)

found the Due de la T., a middle-aged nobleman with the true courtier manner: very *empressé*, but not paying you the smallest attention in reality. He led the way to the royal presence, and we found his Majesty looking very well after a night's rest and the good valetising that rich people can command. He received us with dignified courtesy; very gracious to my companion about his beautiful grounds, and civil to myself. I offered apologies for the indiscretions of the previous day, but he was good enough to assure me that he had heard me with much interest. At parting he shook our hands, and clicking his heels together after the manner of a German officer, said in excellent English—"You have my best wishes;" but his accent, in speaking our language, was not good or pleasant; and he gave us generally the impression of a fatigued man, not much in earnest about himself. A number of *gentilshommes Bretons* had come to see him; antiquated fossils of a vanishing type; and his time, during his short stay, will be much filled up with their reception: the Republic not being one penny the worse!

Monday, 4th.—To the theatre to see Miss Geneviève Ward in "Forget-me-not:" her rendering of the heroine is an inspiration; the house thin but sympathetic.

Tuesday, 15th.—At the theatre again: *The Queen's Favourite*, an adaptation of Scribe's *Verre d Eau*, and perhaps less convincing than the piece of yesterday. A French play with the immorality removed is like a watch, whose mainspring has broken and a village workman has tried to substitute catgut for the steel. It will not go.

Wednesday, 6th.—Miss W. accompanied us to a race-meeting which proved a fraud. There were no races; only some [illegible]ths with fat women and strong women, and a poor pretence [illegible]erry-making and geniality.

[illegible]ursday, 7th.—Miss W. called, suffering a little from a [illegible]ssy accident which might have had serious results. She [illegible]ought sad accounts of Mr.——whose adventures offer a melancholy instance of what may come of selfish "patronage" and meddling with the family lives of artists. He seems quite done for in purse and in person.

Friday, 8th.—Theatre again: crowded and appreciative. Our gifted friend in the best of spirits; and when she is so who can be more fascinating?

Sunday, 31st.—Walking by moonlight in my garden was reminded of Faust and the famous aspiration towards the passing moment. Seldom indeed can man say what was to be his ultimate prayer. H. G. came for a smoke and the moment had flown by.

August, Tuesday, 2nd.—Working at Warren Hastings, for the

D. N. B., read Burke's turgid speeches at the impeachment. He made cumbrous mirth over the coincidences of the arrest aand commitment) of Nuncomar just when the Babu was accusing Hastings; the orator was publicly censured for this and the charge broke down. But if the Governor-General's friends knew that unfinished proceedings were hanging over Nuncomar's head there would be nothing wrong in acting on the knowledge. Nuncomar's adversaries had long since laid their train, but were perhaps encouraged to fire it only when they found him at deadly feud with the chief of the State. The great question lay elsewhere; *viz.*, was the charge properly heard, and determined according to law? Burke's mind was excitable perhaps (as Lord Teignmouth said) morbid; but we should remember that his ardour first made our nation realise what India was like and what a responsibility was incurred in taking charge of those remote and miserable millions. Conquest may be right or may be wrong; but a curse would be entailed by conquest that owned no duty. Successful men who have risen to arbitrary power are not always as modest or sympathetic as they might be; and there can be nothing better for them than to be reminded from time to time that they cannot escape from parliamentary control. For doing that the main credit is due to Burke.

Monday, 15th.—Something, I forget what, suggested a train of thought on the different destinies of men and the other animals. These seem but little cared for, and often illustrate the smallest happiness of the smallest number. Beasts and birds of prey starve when they grow old, the creatures necessary for their food live in constant alarm and on precarious subsistence. Man alone seems to have the benefit of incorporation and moral law: yet he makes trouble for himself bewails his lot and sinks his hopes in pessimism.

(September), *Wednesday, 7th.*—R. E. F. and his wife came over from Brittany. He is the "Hardress Thomas" whose Indian story, *The touchstone of peril*, has been lately much admired. It is a graphic picture of Upper India, and shows unusual knowledge of native character.*

Answered an advertisement from "a London Publisher desirous of obtaining able translations into English verse of the lighter French poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

Friday, 9th.—Heard of the death of a college-contemporary and brother-officer A. L. M P. from cerebral paralysis He was one of the strongest looking man I ever saw, and a

* Mr. Forrest afterwards produced a little story entitled "the bond of blood" (T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.) which was highly commended in an article on Indian fiction in the *Edin. Rev.* for October 1899.

brilliant swordsman. The Hon'ble W. Murray Fraser, who was with him in Pohohele's unlucky action under the walls of Agra (5th July 1857), told me that with a handful of mounted volunteers he saw P. encounter 800 of the enemy's cavalry, fighting hand-to-hand like a Paladin. In the same action another brother-officer was shot through the lungs: he is still alive.*

Thursday, 22nd.—Arrangements concluded about the translations of French poetry as mentioned on 7th. The first series is "Les Baisers" of the musketeer-poet C. J. Dorat: they are pretty trifles, founded on the "Basia" of Johannes Secundus, and illustrated by charming vignettes by Longneil, from the drawings of Eissen and Masillier,—which the Publisher, old Vizetelly—appears to have discovered at a Paris broker's. They were thought to have been destroyed; and a collection in the possession of a wealthy collector, had been valued at one hundred guineas.†

The later afternoon was calm and bright, after the sinking of an easterly wind. Watched the last gleam of summer and its lingering roses while the cries of the children at play sounded in the shrubbery; and again one remembered Goethe's "stay, thou art so fair."

Wednesday, 28th.—My little Tale published in Guernsey—"Saint George's Cross."‡

(October), *Monday, 3rd.*—Read "The Matryrdom of Man" by Winwood Reade. A gloomy book, not likely to succeed; but, as mere literature, a master-piece. I know no English writer who has more ably condensed a vast historical record without becoming dry or dull.

Thursday, 13th.—P.—an Irish neighbour—lent me T. P.'s book on the Parnellite movement. The moderen Home-Rulers are a great improvement on any former "Nationalist" [illegible]s, and apparently quite beyond the reach of govern[illegible] corruption. But the question after all arises—what [illegible]ion? It is hard to see how a portion of the popu[illegible]os—f Ireland can be a nation any more than the Britons [illegible]rance or the Basques in Spain. Surely, blood, numerical importance, creed, customs, language, and institutions, are all essential to the making of a nation; and where these—so far as they once existed—are being daily obliterated or absorbed, the nationality must fade and disappear. The Poles made a nation once; and, perhaps, consider themselves a nation still; but what of Corsica or the Isle of Man?

* Sir Richa[illegible]eld, alive in 1900.

† They may, no[illegible] picked up (with my translation) at the booksellers for 7 6. Several other series appeared later.

‡ An episode o fCharles the Second's visit to the Ch. Islands. Published by Messrs. Fred. Clarke, of S. Peter Port.

Thursday, 20th.—Called upon an old lady who seemed to be a complete type of the transition, now going on in the educated strata of our Society. So strong in orthodoxy as to deny the tittle of "Christian" to Dr. Martineau, Mrs. H., is quite dissatisfied with the old evidential basis of belief; and, while clinging to the hope of Heaven, has lost all dread of the other place.

Wednesday, 26th.—Sent "Juvenal in Piccadilly" to Yizenelly.* A visit from my gunner son.† A returned from a long visit to friends in England. In complimenting her on the improvement in her appearance said, I was sure her hosts must have appreciated her "staying power."

November *Tuesday, 8th.*—Off to England in lovely weather.

Wednesday, 9th.—With Alf, to Tool's theatre and saw that very clever play, "Dandy Dick." Mr. John Wood, as the sporting widow, was convincing, and John Clayton made exactly the sort of rather aristocratic Dear that one meets in the Coffee-room of the Athenæum.

Friday, 11th.—Called on Vereschagin‡ at the Grosvenor Gallery. Stopping before his (fancy) picture of British Artillerymen, blowing Sepoys from tne mouths of guns, he said "That is what you shall always do in India." On my saying that, I hoped, Never again, he drew his heels together, made a bow to M., who was looking shocked, and said "your pardon; you shall do." All the Russians I have ever talked with on the subject, have similar ideas, and think we hold India by mere force and terror. I hope not.

Sunday, 13th.—At Oxford. Sermon at S. Mary's, by Hatch.§ clever, learmed, and eloquent. Afternoon at M.'s Ta[illegible] and, dinner at Wadham.

(London,) *Wednesday, 16th.*—Wandered down to Queens Gale Hall, in a fog that rendered every thing invissible Recitation by Lenville ‖ Dined with Gen. N.

Thursday, 17th.—To Messrs. M. to be photographed, *by invitation*; a strange method of advertisement when it comes down to such obscure people is oneself. N. and A. accompanied me at night to a French play at the Royalty; how much better they act than our people! The Marquis was to have supped with us at the Hotel continental, where he failed to find us, though we were all there. [How such a

* A little, volume of satire, which fell extremely flat.

† Now (1900) Lt. Col. R. A. and D. S. O.

‡ M. B. Verschagin, the great Russian painter, whom we had known from the time of his visit to Agra.

§ Edwin H. D. D. Professor of Classical literature in Canada; and, later, of Eccl. History at Oxford. Bampton Lecturer in 1880; a learned and earnest opponent of all forms of High Church claims.

‖ Marquis de Leuville, an extraordinary character.

[illegible]d happen? It would be deemed extravagant on the [illegible] it was literally true, but never explained.]

[illegible]urday, 19th.—Back to Jersey after seeing Alf. off for India.

(Jersey), *Friday, December 2nd.*—A lovely day. Played billiards at the Victoria Club with an officer who had been under Sir Robert Sale at Jallalabad in 1842 as a Corporal in the 13th. How incredulous he would have been if a fortune-teller had announced that he would be living in Jersey as a Colonel nearly half a century later!

This was the last item of any general interest for that year. It may be permitted to add that, besides the work already noted, I had engaged to prepare a course of lectures on Indian History for the Oxford University Extension. These gave pleasant employment, and were ultimately adapted for Indian educational purposes in a manual published some years later.* As a course, however, for Extension Lecture-purposes they failed to draw. And here let me observe, once for all, that India and her history have no attraction for the British public unless treated by pens that—as Stella said of Swift—could give glory to a Broomstick: of whom, in regard to Indian History, there have been perhaps three; Edmund Burke, Lord Macaulay, and—in our own day—Sir William Hunter.†

CHAPTER VI.

1888.

Few events of public importance came under notice during [illegible]he year; attention was chiefly occupied with the proceedings [illegible]ending the charge against Mr. C. S. Parnell, of complicity [illegible] crimes of the Irish Invincibles, brought by the *Times*. These were heard before a special Court, the hearing not being concluded until late in the succeeding year. The writer passed most of the time in the Channel Islands; but had towards the end of last year become engaged in examination work which took him over to London several times in the course of 1888.

Elsewhere the most interesting events occurred in connection with the showy General Boulanger, a very different sort of adventurer from Parnell—if "adventurer" be the right word. Dismissed from the French army in March, Boulanger turned to politics, and was elected a Deputy in two departments. Then came his duel with the Prime-Minister, M. Floquet, in which the soldier got worsted and wounded; an omen, as it afterwards turned out.

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* *The Making of India;* Indian Press, Allahabad, 1896.

† Sir Alfred Lyall, K. C. B., would have made a good fourth if he had chosen to enter the field. Sir W. Hunter (1840-1900) was possessed of vast information and a fascinating style.

The conservative Government continued in power [illegible] now familiar premiership of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Gla[illegible] adhering to his association with the Irish "Nationa[illegible] which had cost him his place.

March (Jersey), *Thursday*, 8*th*.—Read an article on Herbert Spencer by Mr. Lilly, in the *Fortnightly Review*. It is able but written with his peculiar manner, what perhaps one might call unctuous malice; he objects to S.'s ethics because—as he puts it—they are brought down to be mere matters of self-interest and fear of the Constable. But surely that is hardly fair. Mr. L. never shows us where we are to look for the Categorical Imperative that would seem to be the only alternative to the utilitarian basis: what is *his* standard of right and wrong? He might surely be met by the Socratic method; as thus—

"*Socrates*.—Do you believe that, on the whole the virtuous are happy?

Lilly.—I cannot doubt it. In keeping of His Statutes there is great reward.

S.—And do you admit the right of society to protect itself by directing attention to this advantage and attaching penalties to injurious conduct?

L.—I must also admit this: if one man has a right of self-defence how much the whole.

S.—And, that being so, those who aim at pleasure by forbidden ways will in the end fail?

L.—So it seems."

And so Socrates would go on to show that the best motive of conduct would be in the satisfaction of one's wise[illegible] instincts. Of course the difficulty of reconciling the propri[illegible] of forming good habits with the laws of heredity and [illegible] minism postulated in Spencer's system is not removed. It is in ethics an ultimate, perhaps an insoluble problem. But there are other such.

Monday, 12*th*.—Looked over a new edition of the old "Pickwick Papers," and felt some surprise at the great effect once produced by the book: which indeed I can, myself, remember faintly. It seems now a rather crude medley of fisty-cuffs, horse-play, and strong liquor. Every one gets drunk, over and over again—even the middle-aged hero himself, who is evidently a favourite of the author's and a model of virtue. Even the *Observation* is not as minute or accurate as would now be required; the Cockney dialect, for instance, is quite incorrectly rendered; and the incidents have hardly anything in common with possibility. Yet there is the fact: the book made the author's fortune and reproduced in a costly form, after the lapse of half a century. It must be something in the warm sympathetic nature of the young author; his high

spirits, and his incalculable whim. It may seem in cold-blood, too much like a slightly defeated Humphrey Clinker; but it possesses qualities not to be found in any of Smollett's works; and is a pleasant wholesome antidote to despondency and pessimism. Poor humanity must, after all, sometimes be content to find relief in nonsense much below the level of *Pickwick*.

Amongst minor technicalities in this Dicken's first long fiction, it may be observed that the nomenclature of the characters exhibits little of the extravagance that is found in his later works. Instead of the long farcical names, such as Tulkinghome, Tollingtower, Peerybingle, etc., we have simple ones, like Winkle, Wardle, Trundle, and Jingle—the last only bordering on burlesque. The humour has a sort of innocent slyness that is not without charm; as when Sam Weller, condoling with old Tony on the death of his wife, reminds him that there is a Providence that rules these things. "Werry true," said his father; "if not what would become of the undertakers?" The rare touches of pathos are not forced; and there occur occasional passages of delightful description; such as that of the walk from Rochester to Cobham on a summer morning. Altogether, the book was real refreshment to a public whose literary provender consisted for the most part of imitations of Scott or brazon inventions like "Gilbert Gurney," varied by society novels of the "silver-fork" school. The life of the lower middle classes was not a very noble one; but its revelation was *new*.

Saturday, 24th.—Went to London on examination-work, and saw old friends: received by Colonel Baillie at Queenborough Terrace.*

Monday, 26th.—Viva-voce work for Indian C. S. All the Candidates University men; two London, one Dublin, the rest from Oxford and Cambridge.

Saturday, 31st.—Took A. to Niagara, a beautiful panorama of the famous falls: thence to a *matinèe* at the Savoy Theatre, where we enjoyed Gilbert and Sullivan's new operetta "The Pirates of Penzance." The rest of the day we spent at the studios; some powerful work by a young artist named Solomon.†

April, Tuesday 3rd.—Cold weather, with N.-E. wind and snow. Worked hard at the candidates' papers.

Friday, 5th.—Met M. Arnold at Athenaeum; he spoke kindly of my paper on Omar Khāyyām in *Macmillan's Magazine*

* Colonel John Baillie; antiquarian and aquarellist of no ordinary merit. He died before the end of the year.

† Mr S. J. Solomon, A. R. A., a pupil of Cabanel.

and urged me to bring out a complete version, *in prose*.* That is one of his doctrines; even if you are a poet yourself you cannot make a sound version of poetry in metre. But, surely, it is the office of a translator to convey something of the effect of his original. What of Coleridge's *Wallenstein* or Woosley's *Odyssey*? Are they not permanent possessions of the English reader? Even Pope's *Iliad*, though (as Bentley said) you must not call it "Homer;" but it is a classic of our literature all the same.

Monday, 16*th*.—At Athenaeum, walked away with Lyall† and Stephen.‡ The latter, as we left, said: "I do not much care for the club: it is getting too full of ghosts." I know what he meant: if it takes a man sixteen years of waiting before his name comes up for ballot, he is bound to be well stricken in years at his election. And then the old Mower soon comes in, with his inevitable scythe. Dined with O'C.§ I made him a present of a beautiful edition of Gray's Poems, with Bentley's illustrations that had belonged to my ancestor Galfridus Mann, brother of Sir Horace the Ambassador, and correspondent of H. Walpole.

Friday, 20*th*.—To the Haymarket: a ridiculous play called "The Pompadour," true neither to history nor yet to nature. My countrymen are so easily pleased!

Sunday, 22*nd*.—Back to Jersey with A.

May, Saturday, 12*th*.—An old social *crux*. Being at the Club to-day was told by an American visitor something to the discredit of an absent friend. Of course I could deny it, having heard him tell the story of himself in a very different way. But the question is, ought I to repeat the matter to him, or will it be more friendly to avoid mischief-making? It seems unfriendly to repeat to him what must give him pain, and may do more harm than good? I think that silence seems best, and shall not stir further in the case.

Friday, 18*th*.—Exquisite afternoon: gusts and gleams on the offing: the view of the sea from my Library-window with a lovely foreground of green leaves and pink blossoms. Heard of Sir Temple's arrival in the Island.‖

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* Mr Arnold, a great critic, a true poet, and useful public servant; died suddenly, at Liverpool, ten days later. When I had the conversation with him here noted, he looked a fine man in the prime of life in spite of his sixty-five years.

† Sir Alfred Lyall, already mentioned.

‡ Sir J. F. Stephen, Bart. (1829-1894), formerly a Member of the Viceroy's Council in India, afterwards Judge of the High Court of Justice in England.

§ Surgeon-General D.O'Callaghan, a distinguished Medical Officer (V. Ch. II).

‖ Right Hon'ble Sir R. Temple, Bart. schoolfellow and brother-officer of

Monday, 21st.—Temple called and I gave him information [illegible] letter of introduction to Sir Edgar Macculloch.*

In the evening an Extension Lecture on the Tudors: a distinguished local audience. The Lecturer, Mr. Long, has a good voice and manner; the treatment much relished by all who spoke to me of it.

Tuesday, 22nd.—Red the *Life of Reynell Taylor*, once a famous frontier-officer. These Punjab Puritans were a phenomenon—an anachronism one may say—but wonderful creatures. Swordsmen, administrators, fanatics if you will, but able to sway men of other creeds: with a Bible in one hand and a revolver in the other, ruling the stony wilderness and winning the love of admiring barbarians. As evangelists they effected nothing; but they upheld their country's honour and secured peace on the border. They remind one of Mr. Greatheart, in *Bunyan:* who slew giants and drove away lions, but did not fill up the Valley of Humiliation or lift the shadows of death. But, *on croit le qlontrouve vrai, nonceqti'on désire.*

Thursday, 24th.—A fine day for the Birthday Parade.

Thursday, 31st.—A visit from a pleasant Kentucky couple, the man an old Confederate Officer, and fine specimen of the Southern aristocracy; tall, handsome, and courteous. The Colonel's adventures must have been marvellous. While in command of a regiment attacking a Yankee battery his horse was struck by a round shot which broke the saddle-tree and grievously wounded the gallant rider. He was reported dead but taken into hospital in California, where he recovered, to find his estate confiscated and himself without a Fatherland. He has a Chateau at Tours—presumably his wife's property: and they are now summering in Jersey. They seem contented and cheerful, with gracious quiet ways.

June, Saturday, 2nd.—To Catholic Church with flowers: then to call on Mme. de Cacqueray, who was out: the Marquis received us, seeming much dejected about French political prospects. In the evening the Americans came; and the Colonel gave us a good notion of what the better sort of Tory may have been in England *temp.* Ann.

Sunday, 3rd.—Captain T., R. N. called, and invited me to go to Guernsey in his ship on Wednesday.

Monday, 4th.—A talk with Colonel Grover, U. S. A., who gave some advice about lecturing in America. Wrote to the Redpath Bureau, Boston, Maws.

Wednesday, 6th.—Captain T. took me on board in his gig.

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the writer: formerly Governor of Bombay, afterwards (1885-92) M. P. for Everham: author of several historical works, and an able landscape painter.

* Then Bailiff of Guernsey: jurist and antiquarian; d. 189?

about 2-30 at Gouray harbour. We manœuvred and did gun-drill till 5 P.M. and the skipper showed how Jersey might be reduced by one French war-vessel with modern guns. Got Guernsey in time for dinner at General S.——'s. After dinner the General took me to his Club and introduced me to Captain L., the local Antiquary.

Thursday, 7th.—Called on Sir E. Macculloch who made an appointment for the morrow.

Friday, 8th.—Sir Edgar took me to Castle Cornet, and guided me over the singular old building which held out so long, under Dorothey Osborn's father, during the Civil War. After lunch the same kind companion took me to Captain L.'s interesting Museum ; where, among palveolithic and neolithic remains, we saw, an undoubted viking sword, confirmatory of the belief that the old Norse rovers made the Island a *place d'armer* for their operations against Neustria.

Sunday, 10th.—To Southampton and Oxford. Dined at Wadham, finishing the evening at Jesus Common-Room, where was Dr. Ethé the Persian scholar ; also Prof. Sayce, with whom an interesting talk about Chaldaeans and Jews.

Monday, 11th.—A garden-party given by Prof. Rhys. M. just returned from Tiflis ; Mr. Nutt and Prof. Sayce : could not linger, having to attend Extension-meeting at Christchurch. And an earnest meeting it was, with an attempt to assimilate the Cambridge lines and protect Lecturers from being swamped by paper-work. Dinner followed, at which I sate by Mr. Mackinder.* We had much pleasant talk and broke up before midnight.

Friday, 15th.—Cold wet day. Lunch at Athenaeum, then to keep appointment with Sir R. Temple at the House of Commons. In the evening to G. Bride's, where there was a pleasent party at the Vicarage. † Basil Champarys, the architeet ; Edward Clodd, ‡ Prebendary H. Jones whom I had not met since we read with the same Tutor in Suffolk ; and the host's two handsome and clever sons. Pleasant evening.

Sunday, 17th.—Back to Jersey.

Friday, 22nd.—Lovely day, first warmth of summer. Called on the Confederate Colonel and found a roomful of New-York millionaires. It seemed strange to be with people who literally did not know what to do with their money. I know, as a fact, that millions of pounds sterling were represented in the room. Their bearing simple ; nothing of "Sir Gorgeons Midas."

* Halford John, M. Reader in Geography ; since Principal of Reading.

† Vicar, Rev. E. C. Hawkins, father of the famous writer "Antony Hope."

‡ Mr. Clodd is a popular exponent of Darwin's system and a charming writer on folk-lore.

(London), *July, Monday, 23rd.*—Crossed to S. Hampton in a small boat and rough weather.

Wednesday, 25th.—Irish Exhibition: very poor. In the evening to Criterion; dinner of Author's Society. Bryce in the chair; very courteous and effective.* The ladies a rather dowdy lot—with brilliant exceptions: men interesting. Sate next to Mr. Baker, 'discoverer of Bohemia.'† Introduced to Mr. W. Besant‡ and to Mr. George Meredith, with whom some interesting talk. The speeches generally good.

Sunday, 29th. A pleasant day at Blackheath: Greenwich Park in great beauty, and the view over the Palace, as ever, charming. This is by far the finest landscape below London, almost a rival to Richmond. We are using the "Senior" United Service Club while the Athenaeum is in the painter's hands. [They call the one the "mental" and the other the "regimental."] The latter has some interesting portraits; and Clarkson Stanfield's "Battle of Trafalgar" on the staircase is a magnificent work: the waves seem to *move*. Like the Hospital it is a noble monument of a noble service.

(August). *Sunday, 5th.*—Back to Jersey.

Tuesday, 7th.—This afternoon, while getting ready to attend a lawn-party at Government House, we received news that our boy in Canada had died suddenly. He was just making ready to come back to us. The day was splendid; but is there not a sense of cruelty when Nature smiles and the shadow lies on us all the darker?

Wednesday, 15th.—Violent tempest, rain and lightning. Reviewed Busteed's book for *The Academy*.§ The work shows research and urbanity; giving many useful lights as to Warren Hastings, Philip Francis, and the Black Hole. A little welding of the chapters ought to make a complete and most valuable monograph which might be entitled "Calcutta in the days of Hastings." An Index is much needed.

Thursday, 16th.—A walk with the Confederate Colonel whose reminiscences were very good. He said he heard of the death of the Prince Consort and of the appointment of Ulysaes Grant to command the Federals at the same moment. The comment was, "We were sorry for the Queen's misfortune even in the midst of our own; but we soon forgot it in thinking we should not be in trouble long if *that* was the sort of General the Yan-

* Right Hon'ble James, B., F. R. S., etc., M. P. Author of many valuable works on historical and legal subjects.

† James B., F. R. G. S., etc., a well-known traveller and journalist.

‡ Now Sir Walter: well-known novelist, and founder of Author's Society.

§ "Echoes from old Calcutta:" By H. E. Busteed, M. D., C. I. E. (2nd edition): Calcutta and London, 1888.

kees were going to employ against us." They soon learned their error.

Saturday, 25th.—Fine weather has returned. Walking by the sea in the beautiful fields of this most lovely island one was reminded of the "pathetic fallacy" expressed in Scott's famous passage—"Call it not vain." Poor Henry Sherer, who might have made himself a name had he cared to, took the other side with skill and energy :—E. G.

> "Senseless to mortal woe
> The streams complaining flow;
> No Poet's death the forest's sigh deplores;
> And ocean-waves, whose tone
> Might seem creation's moan,
> Beat passionless on dull unheeding shores."

But it is all, perhaps, equally morbid. We should not merely submit to the inevitable, we should embrace it with arms of love.

September, Monday, 3rd.—Began recording Indian experiences : unavoidable egotism.*

Friday.—Field meeting of *Société Fersiaise.* We walked over Trinity parish, once co-extensive with a Manor of the Carterets ; being joined by the Lieutenant-Governor and some more local antiquaries. In one place were evident traces of ancient fortification. At Rozel—the Lemprière Manor—we came upon another encampment ; but there seemed no means of determining whether either was of Roman times. For my own part—pending measurements and ground-plan, which I ventured to suggest—it seemed to me very likely that the Rozel camp, being on the hill immediately above the little harbour, was originally made by the Vikings : who would want to guard their ships ; and to have a place wherein to secure their persons and their plunder before returning to their transports. Whether for the homeward voyage or for a descent upon the coasts of Neustria now called Normandy after them—it would be needful to have such a station ; and this bay, with its crowning heights, would be very suitable. I believe some mention of these islands has been found in the old Norse poetry ; the Viking sword discovered in Guernsey is a proof of the presence of the Rovers.

We had a charming excursion, through leafy lanes and woods, and over green and breezy downs.

Tuesday, 18th.—A pessimist view being expressed by a member of the domestic circle was met by the obvious caution ; "there is but little black in life and still less white : all we can expect is different shades of grey."

* Afterwards made into a book ("A servant of John Company") published by Messrs. Thacker ; London, 1897.

Friday, 21st.—A friendly letter from Professor Norton, of Cambridge Mass,* dissuading me from undertaking a lecturing tour in America. Also one from Mrs. Lynn Linton overstating the case against Dorat, the Musketeer-poet whose verses I have been trying to translate. He did not engage to do anything very great, to be sure ; but what he engaged to do he did well enough. The " Mois de Mai " seems better than anything of the kind in English 18th century work; unless it is to be compared with Pope's " Rape of the Lock—" and the description of the pyrotechnics at the marriage of Marie Antoinette shows both observation and skill.

Tuesday, 25th.—An old Indian friend, home on leave ; he gave a bad account of the country. He seemed to think that a gulf was widening between the natives and the members of the governing class ; and the prospects of Anglo-Indians appear much impaired by the depreciation of the Rupee. He thought that, if many of them got to look upon themselves as permanently exiled, a grave political danger might be created Which may the Powers avert !

Friday, 28th.—My " Reminiscences " make pleasant occupation : whether they will please English readers I known not—one friend—whose experiences and powers are alike for greater than mine—has had his lying by him for years, under a similar doubt.† Nevertheless, there must be in every intelligent man's career something unique : and I can answer for myself that I read such books as Shore's and Sleeman's eagerly, when I was beginning life as an Indian Official.‡ The element of egotism is, doubtless, ineradicable—almost essential—yet these writers have a way of generalising their egotism so as to render it applicable to the feelings and experiences of others. *Le moi est haïssable,* said Pascal ; but Thackeray—a far saner man—has written a word in its favour.

October, Monday, 22nd—Finished article on Russia and England for *Macmillan's Magazine.* Rather surprising to see how heavy is the historic balance against one's own nation upon the whole account. The selfish old oligarchic system is quite dead in England now ; whether the new democratic *régime* will inspire the same respectful animosity is, as yet, a doubt.

* Professor Charles Elliot Norton, editor of Lowell's Letters : he had visited Muttra when I was there in 1850.

† Mr. J. W. Shever, C. S. I., who has since published a valuable instalment of his Recollections under the title of " Daily life during the Indian Mutiny :" London, 1898.

‡ Shore, Hon. F J. " Notes on Indian affairs," 2 vols., 1837 Sleeman, Lieutenant Colonel W. H. " Rambles and Recollections," 2 vols., 1844. (Mr. Shore died young. Colonel Sleeman became Resident at the Court of Lucknow ; and died a K. C. B. in 1850. His great work was the suppression of the Thugs, or garotters, of Hindustan.

The old one must have left rankling memories : the situation reminds one of the relations of Rome and Persia in the days of Julian.

November.—Wild wet weather during the month, varied by a certain amount of pleasant sunshine. Worked a good deal for "Dictionary of National Biography." Also wrote some Magazine-papers. The 24th was so warm that we were able to sit without fires and with open windows. On the 27th read a paper on the *Jacquerie* before the Lieutenant-Governor and a distinguished local audience. It is very curious to compare that abortive movement with the social risings of the period in England ; especially to observe that the rise of our Parliament was almost simultaneous with the decline of the French '*Etats*.' For the *Tiers* in the days of Marcel must have appeared to be in the ascendant in the eyes of contemporaries, while our House of Commons consisted of urban delegates coming before the King and Council like so many humble suitors.*

December.—Weather continued mild. I finished the life of Warren Hastings for the N. B. Dictionary, endeavouring to be impartial. The estimate of Macaulay was inspired by his admiration for Burke ; James Will also took a similar line. Now, we seem to be going into the other extreme, of seeing nothing to blame : which is abroad. Erskine's position is the fairest : Hastings often did wrong, but the wrong was the outcome of the prevailing policy, not of his own character. It was perhaps right that he was not made a Peer ; it was certainly right that the E. I. Company should give him a handsome pension.

Monday, 10th.—Crossed over to Southampton : Examination to be held in London for Indian Civil Service.

Saturday, 15th.—Finished *vivâ-voce* by 12-30. The young men of the usual type ; well-informed and in good mental condition. I would not join the common cry against the competitive system : it is obvious that a young man who outstrips his contemporaries must have "grit" and other good gifts ; and, as a means of selection, it is the only alternative to patronage—as Lord Grenville pointed out in 1813. As a preparation for high office it seems less commendable ; and would never, perhaps, produce a Warren Hastings or a Wellington. But the greatest objection is that it degrades Literature to the level of an industry, and greatly impedes the swoop of genius. When Southey was telling the Quakeress of his hard work she asked him "When dost thee think?" The young man who has

* This paper was ultimately published in the *Westminster Review* obviously, it was not till the Knights of the Shire joined the borough-Members that the Commons became powerful. No such movement ever occurred in France up to the last meeting of the States General in 1789.

passed his school time in getting up answers to test-papers has no time for the cultivation of observation and reflection: and he very probably ends by loathing the sight of a book as much as the grocer's boys are understood to hate figs.

In the afternoon called on Mr. Lynn Linton in her pretty flat at Queen Ann's Gate, where she seems very cheerful, with a pleasant young lady to look after her comfort. I find she is dead against the "New Woman." Sate a while with friends in the small smoke-room at the Savile: dined at the Vicarage, S. Bride's.

Thursday, 20th.—At Savile Club, meeting W. Besant, Walter Pollock, and other pleasant men, guests of Mr. Middleton Wake. A very delightful rendezvous, originally in Savile Row (whence the name). Present house once the residence of Lady Rosebery before her marriage. The Club seems in some respects a *succursale* of the Athenæum; men using it while waiting for ballet at the latter. But there are many old members, who are content to remain where they are: besides some who belong to both; and Mr. Herbert Spencer who likes a place where he can play billiards on Sunday. The commissariat is the weak point.* The front windows have a charming outlook over the Green Park, almost like a country-house.

Sunday, 23rd.—Back to Jersey: all well.

[We had a very quiet Home-Christmas; and the year ended in peace. R. M. sate with me in my study on New Year's Eve, entertaining but bitter: representing the University in colours almost as dark as if he were Thorold Rogers in person.† The year has not been very bright; but all have their cares: of trouble we may perhaps say what the dying Schiller said of Death, that "it cannot be an evil, seeing that it is universal."]

* All written 12 years ago be it noted.

† Rogers was after all successful in obtaining the Chair of Political Economy in the year under review. He did not hold it long; being removed by death less than two years later.

ART. IV.—RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS AND CHARITIES OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

III.

I shall deal in this article with the endowments and charities of the Zemindars of Bihar and Orissa mainly. But before doing it I must notice some of the splendid charities and endowments of the Moorshedabad district.

This district was once the richest and most prosperous in Bengal. Moorshedabad itself was, during the supremacy of Moslem rule in Bengal, its capital city and abounded in trade. It is still the abode of many titular Rajas and Nawabs, the most distinguished nobleman of Bengal, the Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad is still living there in a picturesque palace which was built years ago by the order of Government after the style of architecture of the Calcutta Government House. The charity of the Nawab Bahadur is famous throughout this country. He spends yearly for the purpose of relieving the poor Rs. 15,000 in various ways, and in religious festivals Rs. 8,000 every year. The Nizamut School is doing a good deal of service to the people of the place, and is kept up with great credit at a yearly expenditure of about Rs. 6,000. But the grandest work which has been done by the family of the Nawab is the Imambarah, and the performance of the religious ceremonies in connection therewith takes place every year in a most lavish scale. This edifice was built in the year 1874 at a cost of six lakhs of rupees by the late Nawab Nazim Syed Munsur Ali Khan Bahadur, father of the present Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad. It is situated just in front of the Palace and is as big and picturesque as the Palace itself. The Mohurrum ceremony is here performed with a pomp and grandeur worthy of the representatives of the old Moslem rulers of Bengal. Every evening during the Mohurrum a small procession consisting of the leading Shia Mahommedans of the place is formed and passes by the strand amidst a beautiful candle-light illumination and strains of sweet music played by the Nawab's band. But the most impressive sight takes place on the 8th day, when the *Tazea* is carried amongst banners and flags made of the richest Cashmere shawls and golden *punjas* (palm), horses and elephants richly caparisoned leading the van. It is a long and solemn procession and worth seeing. On the tenth day there is a repetition of this procession excepting that a troop of horses with arrows round their body are added to it and form the object of general attraction. The entire Nizamut family and a very large assemblage of

people join this procession. From the back of the elephants a continual stream of copper coin is poured on the heads of the crowds of poor, who are also sumptuously fed on the taboot reaching the Kerbella. There is another festival called the *burra* festival, which is observed by the Shia Mahommedans of Moorshedabad—the family of the Nawab Bahadur taking an active part in its observation. It consists of a festive flotilla of boats made of plantain trees and full of lights of all shades and colours being cast adrift into the river Bhagirathi. The sight is a most dazzling and charming one, the river for miles presenting the appearance of being literally on fire. The occasion is made memorable by the rich offerings of food and other gifts to the poor. This festival is observed on the last Thursday of the month of Bhadra of each year, and the Nizamut spends a large amount of money in charities on this occasion. The Nawab Bahadur is very kind and considerate towards his tenants, and his latest act of philanthrophy in this direction is the gift of several miles of land to the District Board for the construction of a public road in Midnapore for the benefit of his tenants. Among the members of the Nawab's family, Nawab Shams Jahan Begum Saheba, C.I.E., is distinguished for her religious devotion and piety. She has created an endowment worth about three lakhs of rupees for the performance of religious ceremonies and distribution of alms to the poor. The motowali of the mosque and manager of the endowed properties is Moulvi Mirza Ali Beg, of 7, Rowden Street, Calcutta. In addition to this, the Begum Saheba spends Rs. 50 every month in relieving the distressed.

There is another excellent religious endowment in this district. It is the Wakf Estate of the late Basant Ali Khan, who was an eunuch slave of the Nizamut. Possessed of a good deal of property in his life-time, he made a testamentary disposition of the same by his letters of June 24th and July 4th of 1833 to the Collector of Moorshedabad. In these letters he declares that he leaves the whole of his property in trust to Bohoo Begum and Bahar Ali Khan, who are directed to appropriate two-thirds to the support of the Quadum Sheriff, a certain Musjid, and an Imambarah situated in Begumgunge in the district of Moorshedabad, keeping up the former establishments of servants attached to those buildings, and also maintaining the other companions and old servants of the deceased. The Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad has lat[illegible] property as heir and owner of it and [illegible]is matter to Government. The [illegible]General Sir Charles Paul is to [illegible]n his part at such a distant [illegible]ons. There is, however,

very little doubt that there is no more fit person than the Nawab Bahadur to administer these charities. The annual receipts from these properties amount to Rs. 23,046. This estate, if well managed, will be productive of great good to the public of Moorshedabad. An interesting question as to how far a slave can hold property in this country was raised with reference to this Wakf Estate, as the Mahommedan law expressly debars such a person from holding any. Every thing which a slave has goes to his master on his demise. But a solution seems to have been found regarding this difficulty, for no slaves can exist in British territory and as soon they set their foot on British soil they are free that very moment. This Wakf Estate was for sometime under the direct supervision of the Local Agent under the Government of Bengal.

The name, however, which has shed a halo of glory all over the district and, in fact, all throughout the length and breadth of this country, for liberality and generosity, is that of the late Rani Surnomoyee, a lady who was regarded as the personification of charity in Bengal. She was the wife of Raja Kissen Nath Roy Bahadur of the Cossimbazar Raj family,—a family, which for its devotion and loyalty to the British Government, for its munificence and liberal-mindedness stands unsurpassed by any other aristocratic house of this country. He was a great patron of learning and was the life and soul of that movement which took steps to perpetuate the memory of that great apostle of English Education in Bengal, David Hare. For the statue of that great person, which stands midway between the Presidency College and the Hare School he subscribed the largest amount. His father, Raja Kumar Hari Nath, contributed the sum of Rs. 20,000 towards the establishment of the Hindu College. His ancestor, Krishna Kanta Nandi, well-known in this part of the country as Kanta Babu, saved the life of Warren Hastings, when the latter was put under confinement by Surajad Dowlah, by assisting him to fly away from the prison-house and keeping him concealed in his own house. For this act of loyalty to the British Government he was appointed Dewan, and wealth and honors were showered upon him and his son. Maharani Surnomoyee was the most illustrious representative of this distinguished house, and made herself conspicuous for her liberality from the beginning of her life. In the year 1871, on the 10th of August, the title of Mahaiani was conferred on her, and in January 1878 she was appointed a Member of the Imperial Order of the C[illegible] with other ladies of the highest r[illegible] Mr. Peacock, late Commissioner [illegible] while investing the Insignia o[illegible] to her public spirit and mu[illegible]

"I mention a few of those acts of benevolence and liberality which have procured for you this signal mark of Her Majesty the Empress' approbation. It would not be difficult for me to recount the doings of your long past years, which have with those that have followed, made your life one long act of charity. It will be sufficient for my purpose if I confine myself to the history of the last few years. Turning to these, I have found the following instances of your liberality, and I allude to these particularly because they serve to illustrate the wideness of its scope.

	Rs.
1871-72	
Chittagong Sailors' Home	3,000
Midnapur High School	1,000
Chandni Hospital, Calcutta	1,000
Bhoirab River Improvement, Jessore ...	1,000
Relief of Distress, Moorshedabad ...	1,000
1872-73.	
Bethune Female School	1,500
Bogra Institution	500
Native Hospital	8,000
Epidemic Fever Relief	1,500
Baharamganj Road	1,000
1873-74.	
Relief of Distress in Moorshedabad, Dinajpore, Bogra, Pabna, &c ...	1,10,000
1875-76.	
Berhampore College	10,000
Rajshahi Madrassa	5,000
Cuttack College	2,000
Garo Hills Dispensary	500
1875-76.	
Calcutta Female School	1,000
Rangpore High School	4,000
Aligarh College	1,000
Calcutta Zoological Gardens	14,000
Famine Association, Calcutta	8,000
Backergunj Cyclone Relief	3,000
1877-78.	
Warm clothing for poor	11,121
[illegible] Dispensary	500
[illegible] amine Fund	10,000
[illegible] Native Asylum	1,000
Howrah Dispensary	500
Calcutta Oriental Seminary	3,000
Bankura and Nadya Fire Relief ...	1,000
District Charitable Society	500
McDonald Indian Association	1,000
Miss Feudal's Institution for fallen women ...	1,000

Such is a rather long but by no means an exhaustive list of your benefactions during the past few years. Considerable as the list is, aggregating above Rs. 2,00,000, it is largely exceeded by the small donations to schools, libraries, dispensaries, and to the relief of the poor and distressed during the same period, which amount to more than three lakhs of rupees, thus during the years, to which I have referred, you have contributed nearly five-and-a quarter lakhs of rupees, to works of charity and public utility which does not fall short of one-sixth of your entire income. Large, however, as this amount undoubtedly is, it is not so much the amoant as the manner in which it has been given that makes it conspicuous. In this country we are accustomed to see a good deal of what I may call spasmodic money—giving where large sums are frequently given to purposes no doubt very good and very useful, but which are aided not so much because they are so as because the donors hope to bring their names before the public, or obtain some future reward. This has not been your case. You have not been content to wait till you were asked to give, but have taken steps to ensure worthy objects for assistance being brought to your notice, and have then given liberally, hoping for nothing in return. In a word your charity has been such as springs from a simple unostentatious desire to do good, where the left hand knoweth not what the right hand doeth; which is as admirable as, I fear, it is uncommon."

The above sentiments will be shared and endorsed to the fullest extent by the voice of public opinion throughout this country. Few people are aware to what extent Rani Surnomoyee encouraged female education in Bengal. She might, indeed, be called its pioneer. For the purpose of training women in the science of medicine, she gave a princely donation of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees into the hands of Government which formed the nucleus of the Snrnomoyee Hospital. The Marquis of Lansdowne thus referred to the Maharani's magnanimous contribution in the annual general meeting of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the women of India, held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 7th February 1889 :—

"It appears to me that we should concentrate our [illegible] and spend our resources as much as possible, [illegible] main object which is before us,—I mean the [illegible] our students, and upon those purposes which are immediately connected with it. Amongst these I would dwell particularly upon the need of providing suitable boarding-houses for the students. Without these it is difficult to see how young persons of the class whom we desire to recruit, and who should

be as carefully selected as possible, can go through their course of study under conditions suitable to a refined and highly-educated woman. I cannot refer to this branch of the question without dwelling upon the obligation of the Society to the Maharani Surnomoyee, to whose liberality the city of Calcutta owes a most admirable institution of this kind in the hands of Government."

The Berhampore water-works for which she subscribed two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees are the outcome solely of her munificence and liberality. Any one who has been to Berhampore knows full well how bad the drinking water of that place has so long been, how the river becomes difficult for navigation for want of water during the hot weather and how the putrid vegetation imparts a rank smell into the river water and makes it simply a thing of detestation. As the result of this, malarial fever and elephantisis were the most common diseases in that part of Bengal. The introduction of water-works will open out a new era in the sanitation of the town and ultimately make it a desirable place of residence. She also expressed her wish to bear the maintanence charge of the water-works and for this purpose she supplemented her original gift with a subsequent one. That noble institution, the Berhampore College, which stands church-like with its picturesque surroundings and its Gothic style of architecture, was latterly maintained and taken sole charge of by her. She had to incur a yearly cost of Rs. 12,000 for it, and I am glad to say that her successor, Maharajah Manindra Chandra, has been keeping up all her noble acts of charity with commendable zeal and credit.

Her devotion to religion was unexampled. She perfomed all sorts of rites which an orthodox Hindu lady ought to do. But it is not in the superficial obvervance of them that she took part, but in the performance of those charitable acts which chiefly made such rites really and truly successful and productive of good. It has been computed that in these pious actions she spent annually a sum of no less than a lakh of rupees. When one has to calculate the 'mountain of rice,' containing thousands of maunds of it with a proportionate amount of other eatables, to be distributed every winter to Brahmins and beggars, the numberless shawls, broadcloths, blankets and metallic utensils to be similarly given away during every Durga Puja, and the numerous calls on her purse made by indigent authors and others of a more or less deserving class, the figure of one lakh of rupees per annum will not be a large amount to meet all these heavy demands. On the occasion of Kali Puja the entire Cossimbazar palace is illuminated, and all the rich and poor folks of the town are entertained to their heart's content. There is not a *tol* or school in this

country which she did not support, and there was not a movement for the amelioration of the condition of the people which she did not encourage by means of pecuniary help and wise counsel. The death of such a person was indeed a public calamity, and the Bengal Government publicly announced it to be so, and expressed its deep sorrow at the irreparable loss which the country had sustained. In her the poor of the country lost a true mother, and the helpless widow and orphan still bewail her loss, bedewing their cheeks with tears! Oh, Surnomoyee, thou shouldst be living at this hour! India hath need of thee! Oh, rise another such! To her successor Maharaja Manindra Nath her brilliant deeds speak forth like the voice of many waters. 'Go thou and do likewise!' Let him do it, and God will bless him and give him his grace, and the united voice of the people will applaud him and as loudly bless him too!

I close the account of the charities of Rani Surnomoyee by quoting the following from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1897:—"Foremost in all works of relief, as she had long been in every other charitable work, was Rani Surnomoyee, C.I.E. The Lieutenant-Governor expresses publicly the sense of deep loss which the Province has sustained in her death."

Rani Arnakali Debi is another specimen of a liberal landholder. She is famous in the district of Moorshedabad for her encouragement of indigenous Sanscrit schools. She has established the Victoria Sanscrit *Tol* in Berhampore at an annual cost of about Rs. 2,000. There is a splendid Library containing rare and valuable Sanscrit books and manuscripts attached to this institution, and having an endowment for the purpose of replenishing this stock yearly with additional Sanscrit works and publications of the present day. With her usual generosity, she keeps this Library open to the free access of the public. Her son, Raja Ashutosh Roy, is equally liberal. To the cause of the Dufferin Zennana Hospital Fund he has rendered invaluable service by giving the princely donation of one lakh of rupees. He has also given several scholarships and free-studentships to the boys of the Berhampore College.

The Gidhour Raj is remarkable for the construction and endowment of the Baidyanath temples. Baidyanath itself is a famous place both for pilgrimage as well as for recruitment of health of native gentlemen who resort there in large numbers in almost all seasons of the year. These temples of Baidyanath were built about 385 years ago, and are in a perfect state of preservation. The group of temples, 22 in number, are encircled by a high wall, enclosing an extensive court-yard, paved with chunar free-stone, which serves to keep the court-yard

clean. All the temples look extremely nice and beautiful in their original simplicity, and appear as if they were rough-hewn out of some big rocks. All of them, but three, are dedicated to Mahadeo; the remaining three are dedicated to his wife, Parbati. The pinnacles of the male and female temples are connected by silken cords, 40 or 50 yards in length, from which depend guadily-coloured cloths, wreaths, and garlands of flowers and tinsel, the whole symbolising the bond of holy-wedlock. The Hindu religion confers the highest importance and sanctity on marriage, and considers all conjugal connections as being sacred and sublime, free from the faintest trace of lust. The present Maharaja Bahadur of Gidhour, Ravaneshwar Prosad Singh, was born in 1859 and belongs like his predecessors to the Khetrya family of Lunar Sept. He is well-known for his benevolence and loyalty. During the last famine he contributed a sum of Rs. 15,000 to the Famine Relief Fund. Amongst his other acts of liberality he maintains an English High School and a Charitable Dispensary at Gidhour.

I now turn my attention to Bihar. Watered by the mighty Ganges, and interspersed here and there with hills and dales, from some of which have issued the most famous hot-water springs of this continent, the province of Bihar was from very early times considered the most favoured spot of Hindustan—the cradle of civilisation and religion. It was here at Rajgir beside its still hills and gurgling fountains, that Budha preached his doctrine of salvation, which rushed forth like the mighty waves of the ocean and filled half of this continent with his disciples—a doctrine by the instrumentality of which fallen Hindustan still claims kinship with Thibet, China and Japan.

That such a favoured spot of Hinduism should contain some of the most splendid religious endowments, created by our titular nobles and wealthy landholders, admits of very little doubt. In this respect the Tikari Raj affords the most remarkable example of liberality. Among the members of this illustrious family, the works of public charity created by Maharani Indrajit Koer shine out with the most brilliant lustre. It was in the construction of temples that she spent vast sums of money. The beautiful temple at Patna, which she built at a cost of one lakh of rupees, is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is endowed with grants of valuable lands for its maintenance. The best temple which was constructed by her is at Brindaban, made entirely of chunar stones and costing about three-and-a-half lakhs of rupees. It is definitely asserted that up to this time no lady has spent so much in the construction and maintenance of religious edifices and endowments

as Maharani Indrajit of Tikari in Bihar. During the great famine of 1857, she spent large sums in feeding and assisting the famine-stricken inhabitants of Tikari and its neighbourhood. Another member of the Tikari Raj, famous for his princely liberality, was Maharaja Ram Krishna. He expended a good deal of money in building temples at Ajodha and Fyzabad, which stand to this day as a symbol of his religious devotion to Hinduism. At Gya he constructed a Dharamsala as well as a temple. In all these he spent about two lakhs of rupees. In the construction and repairs of roads he was no less liberal. During the famine relief of 1874 he subscribed the sum of Rs. 10,000 towards its fund and expended about double that amount in relieving distress. It was a matter of deep regret that such a promising career, fraught with so much good to the public and the country, was cut off in the very prime of life. But he left a widow, Maharani Raj Rup Koer, on whom the mantle of her worthy husband fell with peculiar fitness. This lady spent several lakhs of rupees in the establishment of schools, libraries, and hospitals, and maintained them at a cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees every year. I subjoin here a list of her charities, wherein only those of special importance are mentioned :—

	Rs.
Entrance School, Tikari	35,000
Bailey Scholarship for above	5,000
Medals and prizes for same	6,000
Empress' Dispensary in Commemoration of the Assumption of Imperial Title by Her Majesty. ...	30,000
Bankipore Industrial School in Commemoration of the Prince of Wales' visit with a grant of a rent-free bungalow for the same. ...	10,000
Building for the Empress, Dispensary ...	8,816
Road between Fatehpore and Tikari ...	16,000
Calcutta Zoo	5,000
Calcutta Hindu Hostel	1,000

In addition to these works she subscribed yearly to a host of public institutions, *viz.* :—Tikari Public Library, Rs. 550 yearly; Gya Government School, Rs. 500 yearly; Tikari Patsala, Rs. 60 yearly; Society School, Rs. 120 yearly; Dharma Samaj Patsala, Rs. 100; Girls' School, Rs. 60 yearly; Abu Lawrence School, Rs. 48 yearly; Gya Hospital Rs. 48 yearly; Jamrud Hospital, Rs. 24 yearly; other schools, Rs. 100 yearly.

She maintained a Primary School in every *Mauza* of her big estate for the education of her tenantry. She kept charity houses in various parts of Bihar, and was continually engaged in giving alms in cash, clothing, and food to beggars, destitute persons and travellers. During the Kebar famine she spent about Rs. 13,000 for relieving the distressed.

These institutions and charities, established and maintained by her, attest her benevolence, and afford an example of enlightened liberality. Rajah Ran Bahadur Singh, father of the present Maharaj Kumar, gave a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the formation of a trust fund for the purpose of establishing a Lady Doctor at Gya. The present Maharaj Kumar of Tikari subscribed Rs. 7,500 towards the Transvaal War Fund for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers in the African Campaign.

The Hatwa Raj occupies a very high place amongst the landed aristocracy of Bihar. It is one of the oldest houses of nobility, still extant in this country, and claims to have settled as Rajas in the district of Saran for 102 generations. In 1790 when the decennial settlement was in the anvil of the Company's Council, Lord Cornwallis, after enquiring into all the traditions and usages of the family, granted to the latter the estate of Fateh Sahi. In troublous times of famine in the year 1857-58 the Raj did eminent service to the British Government, keeping the country clear of rebels. The late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pertab Sahi Bahadur was the most generous and liberal-minded member of the family. He entirely supported three charitable dispensaries,—one in charge of an assistant surgeon and two others under native doctors. These are situated at Hatwa, Bhori, and Gopalganj, respectively. To the credit of the present Maharani Saheba of Hatwa, it must be said that she has commenced the construction of a hospital at Hatwa to be called the Victoria Hospital Buildings, the estimated cost of which is Rs. 62,779, and the maintenance of which will entail a vast sum of money every year. It spends yearly a sum of Rs. 7,700, at present, for the up-keep of its charitable dispensaries and hospitals. It maintains quite a number of *tols* and village *patsalas* as well as an English School at Hatwa. The latter is supported at a cost of Rs. 7,500 yearly. The Hatwa estate supports 44 schools in all, of which 40 are primary. The first dispensary at Hatwa was opened by the Raj on the 2nd of December 1872. In that year there were 62 indoor and 5,420 outdoor patients. The number has rapidly increased since then and larger accommodation has been provided for patients which has entailed necessarily a much larger expense. The amount spent for the up-keep of this dispensary was about Rs. 5,000 in 1873.

During the famine of 1874, the Hatwa Raj met the heavy demands of that calamity within its vast and extensive estates by spending more than three lakhs of rupees in alleviating the distressed. On the Hatwa estate 80,000 persons, out of 400,000, required assistance for three-and-a-half months. The Raj showed a remarkable magnanimity by importing rice to the extent of 124,000 maunds. These were distributed either cooked or uncooked amongst the famine-stricken people. Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was greatly struck at the extremely humane and generous manner, and the extensive scale in which the relief works were carried out by the Hatwa Raj. The late Maharaja spent large sums of money on permanent improvements, the entire amount expended being no less than two lakhs of rupees. These works consisted mainly of hundreds of masonry wells and thousands of kutcha wells, some three hundred tanks and embankments and numerous bridges. The new palace of the Raj is a beautiful edifice surrounded by ornamental gardens. The religious endowments are also on a good scale, the money spent yearly in the worship of Hindu gods and goddesses in the several temples dedicated to them comes up to Rs. 37,200. It maintains a poor-house where Rs. 12,000 is yearly spent for boarding and lodging of guests. The late Maharaja of Hatwa gave a princely donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Lady Dufferin Fund. The present Maharani Saheba of Hatwa evinced her deep and abiding loyalty to the throne of the Queen-Empress by subscribing the handsome sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Transvaal War Fund.

Among the landholders of the Patna district the name of the late Nawab Syed Lootf Ali Khan, C.I.E., stands foremost for munificence and liberality. The Bihar Engineering College owes its existence to his generosity. I cannot do better than give below a cutting from the papers which will explain the aim and scope of the College and the different phases of its existence, till it was opened the other day by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Bihar College of Engineering.

"Sir John Woodburn and party reached Bankipore on Monday by road from Dinapore, and was the guest of the Commissioner. Yesterday His Honor opened the Bihar School of Engineering, which has been under construction since 1898 and which has cost a lakh-and-quarter.

Mr. Pedler, the Director of Public Instruction, received the Lieutenant-Governor and read an address on behalf of Mr. C. R. Wilson, Principal of the Patna College, who could not be present owing to illness. The following passages are taken from

the address—In 1875-76 when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited India, the nobility and gentry of Bihar subscribed the large sum of nearly three lakhs of rupees in honour of the occasion. Of this sum no less than one lakh was contributed by Nawab Lutf Ali Khan alone. It was determined that this money would be best devoted to promoting technical education; but for a time no definite steps were taken. In March, 1876, the Government of Bengal of its own initiative, took a most important step in the development of technical studies, by opening Survey Schools in the chief cities of Bengal, one of them being at Patna. Meanwhile a scheme was worked out for utilizing the Prince of Wales's Fund, and in 1892, after two or three previous failures, an Industrial School was opened, which, however, never fulfilled the expectations of its promoters. But it soon became clear that some greater and more powerful organisation would have to be devised. Mr. A. E. L. Ewbank, formerly Principal of Patna College, suggested that the required nucleus of a Technical School for Bihar would be furnished by the amalgamation of the Survey School with the Industrial School, and the year 1896 saw the birth of the Bihar School of Engineering. This school has had a short but eventful life. At the beginning of the present year, thirty-one students received Sub-Overseer certificates, and twenty-three Amin certificates. In July fifty-one students were admitted to the First Year Class, of whom all but sixteen are Beharis by race, and all but fourteen are students who have passed the standard of Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. For the first time in the history of the school the Amin class is absolutely full, and numerous applications for admission have had to be refused. The Government stipulated that while Government would provide the requisite teaching and current expenses, the cost of building and permanent equipment was to be met from the Prince of Wales's Fund. The Board of Visitors, out of the invested capital of the school, has extended and equipped its workshops, and has erected this spacious new building for the theoretical teaching of the school. His Honor unlocked the Entrance gates with a silver key, and after declaring the school open he unveiled a portrait of Nawab Bahadur Lootf Ali Khan in the Entrance hall."

During the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the Nawab came forward with a donation of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of giving the Prince a fitting reception in Patna. In all times of distress he always gave handsome donations for the purpose of relieving the distressed. It has been computed that the charities of the late Nawab Lootf Ali will come up to not less than two-and-half lakhs of rupees. His

son, Syed Badshah Nawab, is also eminently liberal. His contribution to charities already amount to Rs. 50,000.

The Dumraon Raj is another instance of a liberal landholder in Bihar. The family claims descent from the renowned Khetrya King Vikramaditya of Malwa. Amongst the members of the family Maharaja Maheswar Baksh Singh made himself conspicuous by his loyalty and liberality. He took a leading part in the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and was created a K.C.S.I. The Dumraon Raj spends yearly a sum of Rs. 7,800 for the maintenance of an English Entrance School, as well as several Primary Schools. It keeps a charitable dispensary for the benefit of the poorer classes of natives at a cost of Rs. 3,000 yearly. For the encouragement of Veterinary education it maintains a Hospital at an yearly expenditure of Rs. 1,000. The religious endowments of the Raj include several well-built temples and a Widow's Fund, costing in all a sum of Rs. 7,000 yearly. The Widow's Fund is a very useful endowment and is doing signal service towards the relief of helpless widows of Dumraon and its vicinity. There is a guest-house attached to the temples for providing lodging and boarding to destitute travellers and people. The late Maharaja Maheshwar Baksh Singh Bahadur, staunchly supported the British Government during the Nepaul War as well as during the troublous times of the Indian Mutiny. During the Orissa and Bihar famines, he depleted his treasury for succouring the helpless and starving people, and it is generally known that his contributions during those critical periods came up to several lakhs of rupees, exceeding in the estimation of some his available means at that time. For these conspicuous services Sir Richard Temple recommended his son to be honored with the title of Raja which the India Government did with the greatest pleasure. The successful administration of the Dumraon Raj is due not in a small measure to the ability and intelligence of its Dewan, the late Jai Prokash Lall, who was equally liberal-minded with his master, and contributed a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the construction of works of public utility in the district of Shahabad. The present Maharani Saheba of Dumraon gave a subscription of Rs. 10,000 towards the Transvaal War Fund.

The wife of Syed Reza Hossein Khan Bahadur of Patna is a very charitably-disposed lady and has made several good endowments for the benefit of her co-religionists. She has given away properties yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,150, as well as Rs 10,000 to promote education amongst Behari boys and girls. Her husband has rendered his name famous by making a similar endowment to the amount of

Rs. 32,000, with a yearly income of Rs. 1,600 for the education of Mahommedan boys. As a promoter of female education amongst the Mahommedan community of Bihar, the name of his wife stands high in public estimation. He also gave large sums of money for the establishment of scholarships in the Patna College for the encouragement of learning Mahommedan students.

The Bettiah Raj is also remarkable for its spirit of generosity and liberality. The late Maharaja Rajendra Kishore Singh rendered good service to Government in the time of the Mutiny, and also during the great famine of 1866. Although he gave a nominal subscription of Rs. 5,000 to the Famine Relief Fund, he took upon himself the gigantic task of relieving the distress of his subdivision. It was in the Champaran subdivision that the full brunt of the famine was felt, and notwithstanding all his best endeavours to save the lives of more than 8 lacs of famine-stricken people, the total number of deaths came to 56,000. It is known to every one acquainted with the facts that but for his daily doles and charities for their relief the mortality would have been heavier. A somewhat noteworthy fact with respect to the Bettiah Raj is the sympathy which it showed towards the Roman Catholic Church and mission house which lie close to the palace. This church was founded in 1746 by a certion Father Joseph, from Garingand in Italy, who came to Bettiah on the invitation of the Maharaja, and was granted in perpetuity the whole of the extensive plot of land on which the Mission House and the Church stand free of cost. The Bettiah Raj has like other Rajes its religious endowments and *atithsalas*, its charitable dispensaries and schools, and spends lavishly for their maintenance. The Maharaja has established a Dharam Samaj and Sanskrit School at Motihari and has endowed it with an income of Rs. 1,200 yearly. Sanskrit is taught free in this school to such students as may be willing to prosecute their studies up to the Title Examination. The Maharaja of Bettiah's new Hospital for *purdanashin* ladies has been constructed on a very good plan. It consists of a row of separate rooms suited to the secluded habits of respectable women. A great mistake was made hitherto in several cases in Bengal by creating wards for women on the same pattern as wards for men. Speaking on this subject at a meeting of the supporters of the Dufferin Fund, Sir Charles Elliot spoke as follows :—

'No women but the very poorest will be content to lie in beds six, eight or ten together in a single ward. We must provide separate quarters for them in which they can retain their privacy, and can be visited and attended to by their relatives,

and I am glad the Maharaja of Bettiah's Hospital is being constructed on this plan. In this way I hope that in a few years, possibly even before I leave this country, I may see a trained lady-doctor and a suitable Women's Branch Hospital in every district of Bengal.'

The Bettiah Dispensary was opened in 1864. The building fell during the heavy rains in September 1871, and a house was temporarily rented for carrying on the dispensary work until 1872 when a new building was erected. It is doing very good service to the local public.

The name of Raja Rajeshwar Prosad Sing of Soorjapoora must always remain in the memory of the present generation of Biharis as a greatly liberal landlord of the province. The Arrah water-works are mainly due to his munificence and exertion. He contributed no less than a lakh and-a-half of rupees towards the construction of the water-works, which have doubly enhanced the reputation of Arrah as a place of sanitation. The good water of the river Sone is carried by means of pipes to a raised platform, whence it flows down to the city supplying filtered water to all the numerous inhabitants of the place at hydrants situated on the side of all the public roads. It has often been said that the Raja has paid in charities more than his available means in many instances, and in fact has been generous to a fault. As far as his contribution, however, to the Arrah water-works is concerned, this is decidedly not the case. As the bed of the Sone consists entirely of sand, a good deal of difficulty arose in tapping it at a point from which an inexhaustible supply of river water could be had. He showed his liberality and public spirit by giving up free of cost to Government all the lands in his estate through which the Sone canal passed.

The Khagoul zemindars of Badulpura are noted for their charitable disposition. Babu Ram Anugraha Naryan established several religious and charitable institutions in the District of Patna, of which the grand Hindu temple at Badulpura, where hundreds of religious ascetics are daily fed is famous throughout this country. The Sunday Alms House, where a large number of poor men avail themselves of his charity, has also endeared his name to every heart. The Khagoul Serai is also well-known to every traveller, who has occasion to share the hospitality of this benevolent zemindar. A great friend of education, he has established a High Class English School at Khagoul with a free boarding house for students.

The Raja of Sheohor is another instance of a benevolent landholder. The family is a younger branch of the Raja of Bettiah. During the Mutiny of 1857 Raja Sheo Nandan Sing rendered valuable services, for which he received the thanks

of Government. He also constructed many important roads and other public works and opened relief works in the famine of 1886. All the temples in the village were erected at his expense, the aggregate cost being probably a lakh of rupees. He died in 1867 and was succeeded by the present Raja Bahadur, who has subsequently done good service in the famine of 1873-74, and again in 1890. The religious endowments of the Raj, which consists of the maintenance of scores of temples, are on a most lavish scale, all the religious ceremonies being performed by the Raj at great expense and with *eclat*.

Rai Chowdhury Rudra Prosad Bahadur of Nanpur, was an excellent specimen of a liberal landing proprietor. During the dark days of the Indian Mutiny he supplied elephants and provisions to the British army free of cost. As a memento of his liberality I may mention the hospital which he erected mainly at his own expense at Mozufferpore. He also endowed the Patna College with a valuable property. He founded several vernacular schools in his zemindari at Koiler and gave handsome donations to the Scientific Society at Mozufferpore. He constructed a large wooden bridge over the Lakhandebi river in Mozufferpore at a cost of Rs. 7,000. During the famines of 1861-66 and 74 he made liberal grants to his numerous ryots by giving them alms both morning and evening daily, advancing them seed grain and opening relief works for the construction of roads and channels throughout his vast estate. In this way he incurred an expenditure of close upon half-a-lakh of rupees. His son, Mahadeo Prosad, is equally liberal like his father and gave a donation of Rs. 27,000 for replacing the wooden bridge at Lukhundebi river at Sitamari which his late father had built with a masonry structure. This gentleman also maintains with great credit his late father's *Dharamsala* at Nanpore which has been in existence since 1850.

The late Rai Surja Narain Sing Bahadur of Bhagulpore was also a zemindar of charitable disposition and large-heartedness. Before his death he left instructions for the purpose of endowing a chair in the Presidency College on Physical Science. The amount, which he bequeathed for this purpose is a lakh of rupees. He used to maintain an English school at his own native village, and has endowed it with sufficient funds for its support. He also kept a boarding house for the benefit of poor students, and has always been prominent in all acts of charity and in all sorts of public movements. His name, however, will always be held in remembrance on account of his endowment for researches in Physical Science at the Presidency College. In this connection it may not be an

exaggeration to say that he is the Tata of Bengal though in a somewhat smaller scale.

The name of the late Nawab Sayyid Vilayet Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Patna, must be always remembered as a benefactor to the city of Patna. The title of Nawab was conferred on him as a personal distinction on 14th April 1882, in recognition of "prominent and devoted services rendered during the Mutiny and munificent liberality." The late William Taylor, Commissioner of Patna, at the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny thus wrote of the Sayyid :—"At the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales the Sayyid had the distinguished honour of receiving His Royal Highness' personal thanks for his good services to the Empire. He was one of the chief founders of the Patna College, now a great centre of learning, of the Temple Medical School and of many other important institutions, and has always been prominent in every good and important work in the Province of Bihar." He has endowe a splendid Imambarah where the Mohurrum and other rel gions festivals are celebrated with due pomp and ceremony.

The Durbhanga Raj stands unsurpassed in this country f its munificence and public spirit, and the late Maharaja S Lachmeswar Sing Bahadur, K.C.I.E., displayed these qualiti in the most remarkable manner, by virtue of his marke superiority of intellect and ability and by his magnanimit and generosity of mind. He belonged to an ancient Rajpu family, whose ancestor Mahdeo Thakoor obtained the title of Raja, and the grant of the Durbhanga Raj from Akbar, the Moghul Emperor of Delhi, early in the sixteenth century. Late on when Maharaja Chattar Sing died in 1839 he made ove his estates and his title to his elder son, giving to his younge son for maintenance the Raj villages in Jarail, four houses, two elephants and apartments in the Durbhanga palace. These arrangements led to extensive litigation, as the younger son claimed a larger share of the estates and repudiated the regulation of the dispositon of property by the *Kulachar*, or family custom, and brought an action to recover Rs. 2,446,958. The Sessions Judge, Mr. Rattray, decided that the eldest son was entitled to the Raj, the younger obtaining sufficient properties in land for their maintenance. The Raj pays the Government revenue direct for them, and they reimburse it, the lands being assigned on condition that failing male issue they revert to the Raj. The case came on appeal before the High Court, which affirmed the Judge's decision that the Raj was an impartible one and the eldest son succeeded to it. Thus Rudra Sing became the Maharaja. Lachmeswar Sing, the late Maharaja, was his grandson. He was educated along with his brother, the present Maharaja, at Benares, under the

superivision of the Court of Wards. Their tutor was Mr. Chester Macnaghten, afterwards Principal of the Raj Kumar College for Princes and Chiefs of Western India. Maharaja Lachmeswar Sing was one of the most munificent philanthropists of the present century. During the great famine of 1873-74, he expended for the relief of the distressed no less a sum than thirty laks of rupees, for the scarcity and hardship of famine were felt with greater severity in Tirhut than in any other part of Bengal. This sum is, perhaps, higher than any amount previously spent, or spent up to this time, by any private person for the relief of distress not only in India but probably in any part of the civilized world. To add to the privations and sufferings of the famine-stricken, cholera made its appearance, and the people, already emaciated by hunger and starvation, fell easy victims to it. The services rendered during the famine by Maharaja Luchmeswar Sing Bahadur rms the brightest record in the history of the Durbhanga Raj. opened not only relief works on a grand scale but also ganized a system of gratuitous relief of a most satisfactory d complete character, establishing kitchen-houses and almsuses throughout its extensive estate from the extreme its of Durbhanga to the Nepal frontier. But it is not only the great famine of 1873 but in every time of scarcity the aharaja's arrangements for meeting it had been on a splendid cale. During the last famine he was equally generous in his disbursements and expenses for relief. He gave in all a sum f sixteen lakhs for the purpose of relieving the distress in his state. The sum of eight lakhs of rupees was spent in giving od to the ryots and an equal amount in remission of rents. When we find that the State spent in Bengal during the last famine only one crore of rupees, it is not a small item of generosity for a private landholder to spend a sum of one-sixth of the amount spent by the Bengal Government towards the same purpose. Yet in the face of this fact Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, in his speach regarding private subscriptions in the present famine at Simla at the Legislative Council Chamber made a general and sweeping assertion that the wealthy native had not yet been animated by a sense of practical charity on a large scale! To Maharaja Lachmeswar Sing Bahadur is due almost all the credit of munificent liberality of the Durbhanga Raj—its hospitals and schools, its big roads and irrigation canals, its beautiful villas and bridges in every town and river within the estate.

The first dispensary in Durbhanga was established in 1861 and was entirely supported by the Raj. In 1871, the number of in-door patients was 353, of out-door patients 5,287, as compared with 446 in-door and 6,497 out-door patients

in 1870. The total income in 1871 was about 6,000 rupees. In 1871 a first-class building was erected by the Durbhanga Raj, at a cost of about Rs. 40,000, which has since been supplemented by additional outlays of heavy amounts for increased accommodation, specially for a Branch Dufferin Hospital. The building is a very handsome and palatial structure, situated just north of the town. It supports at Kharakpur another first-class dispensary, the construction of which cost an equal amount as that at Durbhanga. In addition to these it supports three other dispensaries at several parts of its estate, the whole entailing a yearly expenditure of close upon Rs. 30,000. It has built an Anglo-Vernacular school at an expense of Rs. 15,000 which it maintains, as well as nearly 30 Vernacular schools of different grades. It subsidises a much larger number of educational institutions throughout Bihar. The Durbhanga Raj thus holds the enviable position in Bihar of being the disseminator of primary educatio amongst millions of its ryots, and also of looking after the health by the establishment of charitable dispensaries an hospitals in almost every part of its extensive possession For the purpose of the advancement of Sanscrit learning keeps up at a great cost scores of *tols* throughout the Pr vince, where stipends are yearly remitted for the encourag ment of pundits and students. It holds once a year a mee ing of learned pundits in Durbhanga, when discussions an examinations on various books of theology and astrology, rhetoric and grammar, law and language are held for several days, and those who come out best and successful in these tests ar rewarded with appropriate titles and robes of silk and shaw of various descriptions. It is considered a mark of very grea honour and a sign of vast erudition, and learning among Behari pundits to obtain these titles and to be invested with the robes of learning by the Durbhanga Raj.

The late Maharaja Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur constructed hundreds of miles of roads in various parts of the Raj, planting them with tens of thousands of trees for the comfort of travellers. Conspicuous among these roads are the following:—The Jhanjharpur-Narya road, 30 miles; the Nagarbasti road, 13 miles; in Purneah, 26 miles; the Jainagar road, 36 miles; the Dagmariya road, 37 miles; and the Bimband road, 8 miles. On the borders of these roads alone no less than 20,000 trees have been planted, which throwing their umbrageous branches high up in the air give a cool shade for the relief of pedestrians, of whom these roads are always full. He constructed iron-birdges over all the navigable rivers of the Raj and extensive irrigation works on the Kharakpur estate in the Monghyr district. These

works were constructed at a total coast of seven lakhs of rupees and have done a great deal towards removing the apprehensions of a repitition of the terrible famine which visited Bihar in the year 1873 and which put the financial status of the Raj into such a severe strain for the purpose of mitigating its ravages.

The Tirhut State Railway which runs entirely through the Durbhanga Raj lands is generally regarded as a monument of the late Maharaja's liberality and public spirit. It had its origin in the beginning of February 1874, when Mr. Stevens of the Durbhanga Raj first proposed its construction. Sir Richard Temple pressed the scheme ; and the Government of India gave its sanction. The work was begun on the 23rd February, and the first train ran through to Durbhanga on the 17th April. The distance amounted to 53 miles, and the whole of this land was made over to Government by the Durbhanga Raj free of any compensation money.

The late Maharaja Sir Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur was one of the Premier nobles of British India. Born in 1856, he succeeded to the Raj as a minor on 20th October 1860. I have already referred at some length to his magnanimous and princely contribution of thirty lakhs of rupees towards the relief of the famine-stricken. Since then he had always taken the foremost part in every public movement and usefulwork in Bengal, as well as in every part of the Empire, and devoted his vast wealth to objects of charity pure and simple, such as famine-relief, medical aid, help to sufferers from fire and flood, and the like. He also gave large sums for objects of general public utility, as for instance in the gift of Rs. 50,000 to the Funds of the Imperial Institute, Rs. 12,000 for the repairs of the Shivalya Tank for the benefit of pilgrims to the Baidyanath Temple, and a lakh of rupees towards the expenses of the Dufferin Hospital. The promoters of the Indian National Congress owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Maharaja Sir Lachmeshwar Sing Bahadur for he contributed the princely sum of Rs. 60,000 towards its funds at a critical moment when all other sources of its income were exhausted, and when, but for his sympathy and support, the movement would have died out within the space of a short time. Any attempt to collect together a list of his charities under Rs. 10,000 would be a vain and almost impossible task. If I were to take up the task of doing so, it would fill up a volume. It has been computed that he had spent an aggregate sum of something like two-and-a-half millions sterling on charities and works of public utility and charitable remissions of rent during his lifetime. Nor is this all. For the public and for his country he laboured long and arduously, taking a leading part in debates

of the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Local, and the singular ability and intelligence with which he discussed the burning questions of the day in those Councils received the warm recognition from successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State of India. During the prolonged discussions in the Supreme Legislative Council, when the Bengal Tenancy Bill was in the anvil, he spoke with an independence, ability and moderation, acting at the same time in harmony and co-operation with Kristo Doss Pal and Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, which, very few councillors can evince at the present day. He did a good deal for the improvement of agriculture—specially for the improvement in the breeds of horses and cattle—in Bihar. A most liberal philanthropist and patron of the Turf, a loyal subject of Government and true patriot of the country, his sad death was deeply lamented by all classes of people and by Government alike. To the zemindar community his loss is simply irreparable, and they even now mourn his death in the words of the poet 'Sage counsel in cumber, how sound is thy slumber!' What a perennial gloom has been cast on the magnificent Palace at Darbhanga, surrounded by its beautiful gardens, its menagerie and aviary! Though he died prematurely, his death should no longer be lamented who died so full of honours and at the height of human fame, and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for his translation he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory. We sincerely hope his death will verify the language of the old Mythologist, Hesiod, that the spirits of dead men become the guardians of living men. We exhort Maharaja Rameshwar Sing Bahadur to follow the footsteps of his illustrious brother. He has already begun well by subscribing the handsome sum of a lakh-and-a-half towards the present famine and Rs. 12,000 towards the Transvaal War Fund.

I shall now go on with Orissa:—The old religious spirit of Hinduism is reflected in Orissa more than anywhere else in the Province. It is still known as the Promised Land of the Hindus. What rich endowments were created by the ancestors of the petty chiefs or landholders of the Orissa Tributary Mahals none can form an adequate idea, who has not been among the temples there.

Sir William Hunter says in his book on Orissa:—"Hundreds of monasteries dot the province, and enjoy an aggregate rent-roll of £50,000 a year. Every town is filled with temples and every hamlet has its shrine. This lavish devotion extends into the hill country. Up the Mahanuddy, each rocky islet, or wooden crag that rises from its banks, is crowned by a temple to some gods. Even foreigners feel that they are treading on

hallowed ground; and the villagers still tell how the image-breaking Mussulmans retired abashed before the sanctity of Orissa." These temples give shelter and food to thousands of Brahmin priests and menials and serve to stave off to some extent the poverty and pauperism which prevail in the province. Every morning and evening the fan-fare of trumpets, the beating of gongs and blowing of conches announce in almost all places—even in the most inaccessible and heaven-kissing tops of hills—the presence of Hindu gods, enshrined in temples whose beauty of shape, strength and solidity and the fine taste of architecture displayed therein have been considered by European architects as something marvellous and exquisitely charming.

Hardly, however, any properly-organised temporal charity exists in Orissa. The only exceptions are the charities of the Maharajah of Mourbhanj, Raja Shyama Nanda De Bahadur of Balasore and the Raj family of Killah Darpan. The Maharajah of Mourbhanj has endowed the Cuttack Ravenshaw College with a gift of Rs. 20,000 for providing scholarships to students. His expenses for imparting education to the subjects of his state are on a very lavish scale. He has established English and Primary Schools all over his possessions, the whole machinery of education being placed under the supervision of a very able officer, who is called the Superintendent of the Mourbhanj Raj Public Instruction and is very handsomely paid. He also maintains several charitable-dispensaries for the benefit of his people and the poor, and also several *atithsalas* (poor-houses).

Raja Shyama Nanda De Bahadur of Balasore is a very liberal and public-spirited zemindar. He spent about Rs. 30,000 during the Orissa famine of 1866—Rs. 6,000 in subscriptions and Rs. 21,768 in the distribution of grains to the poor. For removing the water-scarcity of Balasore he expended about Rs. 12,000 in the digging of tanks and reservoirs. He has endowed the Cuttack High School with a fair income. He maintains a charitable dispensary, and has erected a fine building for it in the heart of the town of Balasore. He spends large sums of money monthly to meet his daily charities to pilgrims and paupers. He showed his fervent loyalty to the Queen-Empress by establishing a scholarship of Rs. 8 per month at the Balasore Zillah School for the purpose of commemorating the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to that town, and for this purpose he handed to Government the sum of Rs. 5,000.

The Raj family of Killah Darpan, whose munificence and charity are so widely known in Orissa, was originally founded by Pandit Mahatapran, a descendant of an ancient and re-

spectable Kashmiri Brahmin family. He came on a pilgrimage to Jagarnauth and settled at Cuttack. He built and endowed several temples, of which the most remarkable are the two temples on the Barunabanta hill, dedicated to god Shiva, made of two images, of Hari and Sankar, of beautiful colours. This hill and the temple are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of the country. His son, Baidyanath Pandit, expended Rs. 9,000 to encourage irrigation, at first started at Killah Darpan and subsequently extended to the rest of his zemindaries. His father was a very loyal and devoted subject of the Government. He assisted Government during the Mutiny of 1857 and gave elephants, men and provisions for soldiers to quell the Shambalpore insurrection. To improve the state of his ryots he opened three markets and excavated numerous tanks and wells for the benefit of the public. His son, Badyanath, maintains a charitable dispensary and hospital, a *dharamsala*, and a charitabl Vernacular School at Chutya at Killah Darpan. He ha contributed handome sums towards the funds of the Cuttac College and Medical School, and gave Rs. 11,000 for th New Market.

I cannot pass over in silence the splendid charities a endowments of the Cooch Bihar Raj. Though, a ruling chi the Maharaja holds zemindaries within the British possessio whose vast income exceeds even that of his State ; and it i for this reason that I mention his name here. Himself a most accomplished and educated person, the Maharaja has done his utmost to introduce learning in all its phases amongs his subjects. In addition to the large number of vernacula and minor schools, he has founded the Victoria College for higher education of his people and had it affiliated with the Calcutta University. His charitable dispensaries and hospitals have all been made in a most royal style and on a lavish scale. The long term settlements of revenue which he has given to his suojects, for a period of thirty years, is based on most approved principles of assessment. His Highness established the India Club at Calcutta in 1882—a club which has been the means of bringing together men of all nationalities of this great Empire. The Nripendra Naryan Hall at Jalpaiguri was also founded by him. The Darjeeling Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium owes its existence to his liberality and generosity. He presented most of the lands on which the Sanitarium at present stands, as well as the house. In 1889 he founded the Anandamoyee Dharamsala or alms-house which has endeared his name to the people of the Province.

CONCLUSION.

It now remains for me to give the endowments set forth in my articles in detail together with their market value :—

Donors.	Capitalized Value
	Crores.
Cooch Bihar Raj (Ruling Chief)	2½
Durbhangah Raj	2½
Orissa Temple Endowment	1
	Lakhs.
Burdwan Raj	75
Nawab Abdul Gani	50
Natore Raj	40
Hutwa Raj	30
Tikari Raj	30
Gidhr Raj (Baidyanath Endowment)	25
Domraon Raj	25
Moshin Endowment	25
Prosonno Coomar Tagore and Jotindra Mohun Tagore	20
Nawab Bahadur of Moorshedabad	20
Natore Raj	20
Nadya Raj	20
Shovabazar Raj Family	20
Rani Surnomoyee	20
Seal Family Endowment	15
Pikeparah Raj	15
Rajendra Mullick	10
Dighapatya Raj	10
Bhowal Raj	10
Pal Chowdhury Family, Natuda	10
Shovabazar Raj	10
Raja Shukmoy's Family	10
Bhukailash Raj	10
Tarkeshwar Endowment	10
Sagore Dutta	10
Joykissen's Family Endowment	10
Surja Canto Acharji	10
Rani Rash Moni	10
Mullick Families of Barabazar and Jorabagan ...	10
Putya Raj	10
Narail Rai Family	10
Naldanga and Moisadal Rajs	10
Midnapore Raj	10
Sonbursa Raj and Arnakali Rani	10
Kahina Raj and Talispore Raj	10
Saroda Prosad of Chakdighi and Nundo Lall of Bally ...	10
Other Endowments mentioned in articles ...	50
Grand Total ... ... crores....	13

I have taken all these endowments at their lowest estimate possible.

The total of all these sums comes up to thirteen crores of rupees. Large as this amount appears it probably represents but a fraction of the actual sum spent by the zemindars. Now let us compare this amount with what is spent in charity by the landlords of England—the richest country in this world. According to the statistics, published by the Charity Commissioners lately the nett amount of charities and endowments in England at the present day comes to fifty five millions sterling. But this sum represents the total charity subscribed by the landlords of England as well as by its general public. The total yearly income derived from real estate on this head is £1,558,250, the capitalized value of which represents appoximately the amount of property endowed by the English Lords for charity. Calculated at the rate of 5 per cent., this income will be represented by a capital of close upon thirty millions sterling. The total income of the landlords of England is about 100 million sterling every year. Thus their expenditure for charitable purposes is, in proportion to their income- one-third of it. The income of the Bengal landholders including those of Orissa, on the other hand, is about Twelve crorers of rupees, and their total outlay in religious endowments and charities is thirteen Crores; or in otherwords they have spent in charities more than what their yearly income is. Thus while the Bengal landlords are about twelve times poorer than the English, yet they have spent three times more in proportion to their income in public charities than the latter have done. This may seem a strange conclusion, but it is a surprisingly true one. The facts set forth in these articles testify to it most strongly and in the most convincing manner. They prove how groundless are the remarks of Lord Curzon that wealthy natives of India has not yet reached a high standard of practical charity!

Even if the whole charity of England and Wales, represented by 55 millions sterling is supposed to have been contributed by English landlords alone, the amount is only half of their annual income. This still makes the Bengal zemindars doubly generous in comparison to their English brethren, and yet only a fraction of the charities of the Bengal landholders has been taken into account in this comparison!

I bring to an end the charities of the Bengal Province, specially of Bihar and Orissa, by the following additional list of charities and public works executed by the zemindars of the Province:—

1. Burdwan Town Hall. By Bongsho Gopal Nande and others.

2. Baidyapore Temple. By Deno Bundhu Nundy and others. The temple has an *atithsala* adjoining to it, and is supported by an endowment in lands having an income of about Rs. 8,000 yearly.

3. Female Ward, Ranigunge Charitable Dispensary. By Kumar Dakhineshwar Malia Bahadur, Siarsol.

4. Singur H. E. School under the name of Moti Lal Malia's School. By same.

5. Bancoorah High School, Charitable Dispensary and *atithsala*. By Godadhar Bondopadhya, Ayodha, Bancoorah.

6. Bancoorah Raja's temples.

7. Berhampore Charitable Institution. By Biswamoyee Dosse, widow of late Bhubon Mohun Sen, zemindar. It has an endowment yielding an annual income of Rs. 9,000.

8. Motihari Hospital. By Roy Gunga Prosad Singh Bahadur. Established 1898 and an endowment created to the value of Rs. 10,000 for its maintenance.

9. Dharmsala at Mozufferpore. By Rameshwara Naryan Endowment, Rs, 36,000.

10. Nawab Lagi Khan's English School, Rs. 30,000.

11. Baghi Sanscrit School. By Gujraj Sahoy. Endowment Rs. 15,000, established 1895.

12. Baghi Charitable Hospital. By same. Endowment Rs. 30,000, established 1895.

13. Guru Nanak Saha's Charitable Institution. By Domi Loll Chowdhury of Mozufferpore. Endowment Rs. 4,000, established 1887.

14. Raj Hurrubullubh Narain Scholarship at Patna College, Rs. 5,600.

15. Rajnagar Women's Hospital. By Raja Rameshwar Sing of Durbhanga.

16. Patna Female Hospital, Rs. 10,000. By a Mahommedan zemindar of Patna.

17. Benawari Lall's Charitable Dispensary at Motihari. Endowment Rs. 81,500.

18. Charitable Dispensary at Laheria Sarai. By Gunga Prosad Singh Bahadur of Durbhanga. Endowment Rs. 21,000.

19. Bhagalpore Water Works completion. By Udit Naryan Sing, Handwah, subscription Rs. 26,000, and Rs. 10,000 for Leper Asylum Fund.

20. Gya Lady Doctor's Building Accommodation and

Dufferin Fund. By Rameshwar Prosad Narain Sing, Rs. 36,000.

21. Bihar Famine Relief Works, Rs. 10,000. By Maharajah of Sonbursa in 1892. He has subscribed very largely to various objects of public utility, such as Bhagalpore Water Works, Hospitals, Schools, &c. He paid Rs. 4,000 for tobacco and cigars for troops in South Africa.

22. Sursand Charitable Dispensary. By Rao Gopal Narayan, son of Raja of Sursand. He has endowed it with a sum of Rs. 12,500.

23. Bishanpur Entrance School. By Parameshi Prosad Naryan. Expense Rs. 150 per mensem.

24. Temples dedicated to Siva at Bishanpur and *atithsala*. By same.

25. Madhapura Charitable Dispensary. By native landholders of Madhapura, Bhagalpore.

26. A charitable establishment for feeding daily all poor travellers at Hasna, Gya, kept by a certain zemindar of the place. It costs Rs. 50 a day. (Hunter's Statistics, vol. XII, p. 121.)

27. Arrah Relief Institution at the Maula Bagh. By certain Mahommedan zemindars.

28. Daltongunj Charitable Dispensary. By Bhyadirgaj Deo, Zemindar of Untari, Palamau, Rs. 8,000.

29. Kusumgram Madrasah, Mosque and Minor School, Burdwan. By Hazi Munshi Mohammed Mozaffar. Yearly expense Rs. 5,000 covered by an endowment in land.

30. Hetampore Krishna Chandra College, Beerbhoom. By the Hetampore Raj.

31. Raja Ram Ranjan Town Hall and Public Library Beerbhoom. By same.

32. Dharamsalas and Jain Temples in Azimgunj, Moorshedabad, and Rajgir, Bihar. By Dhanpat Singh, Rai Bahadur.

33. Bibi Pran Kumari Jubilee High English School and Almshouse. By Shitab Chand Nahar, Azimgunj, Moorshedabad.

34. Champanagore Almshouse. By Tarak Nath Ghose, Mahasya, Bhagalpore. Yearly expense Rs. 20,000 nearly.

35. A Temple and Suspension Bridge at the shrine of Budri Naryan, N.-W. P. By Rai Bahadur Surujmal Jhunghunwala. He has founded and endowed schools, libraries and dharamsalas.

36. Gya Water Works, Rs. 25,000. By Ram Nath Singh, of Gya.

37. Tej Narain Jubilee College. By Rai Bahadur Tej Narain Singh, of Bhagalpore.

38. Hetampore Raj Religious Endowments, consisting of temples and *atithsalas* at Hetampore, Beerbhoom. Rs. 20,000 yearly expense.

39. Rajgir Almshouse. By Heera Nund.

40. Bihar National College. By Bisseswar Singh, Zemindar of Kulharya, Shahabad.

41. Rai Chowdhury Mahommed Taib Institution, Bankura.

42. Shib Chandra H. E. School, Kirnahar, Birbhum.

43. Nawab's Madrassa, Murshedabad.

44. Murari Chand College and School, Sylhet.

45. Chanchel Shideswari Institution. By Sarat Chunder Roy Chowdhury, Malda.

46. Nawabgaj Hari Mohun Institution, Malda. Yearly expense about Rs. 2,500.

47. K. P. Institution, Monghyr. By Rai Kamaleswari Prosad Singh Bahadur. In 1892 amalgamated with Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr.

48. Diamond Jubilee Institution, Shahabad. By Jagabandhu Babu, Kanchantala.

49. Rai H. M. P. Bahadur's Free School, Barari, Bhagalpore.

50. Nawab Imdad Ali Khan Bahadur's High School, amalgamated with the Bhumihar Brahman College, Mozafferpore.

51. Chowdhuri Mohedar Rahaman's Charitable Dispensary Indas, Bankura.

52. Bhagalpore Technical School. By Raja Shib Chunder Bannerjee. He has also subscribed largely towards the Bhagalpore Water Works and gave a donation of Rs. 25,000 to the Dufferin Fund.

53. Rai Rajib Lochun Bahadur, of Cossimbazar, has endoweded scholarships of about Rs. 800 monthly in the Berhampore and Sanscrit Colleges.

54. Guest-houses (chatras) at Benares erected by most of the rich zemindars of Bengal, widely known throughout the country, such as Surnomoyee, Dighapatya, Burdwan and Putya Houses. Maharajah of Cooch Behar has the grandest endowment at Benares in this respect. The Bihar landlords, such as the Tikari and Hatua Rajas, keep up Guest-houses at great expense at Benares. The combined expenses every year would come up to several lakhs.

ICH DIEN.

ART. V.—OLD HAILEYBURY.

I.

THE appearance of a little book on "Colonial Civil Service" by a citizen of the United States, aided by a distinguished Englishman engaged on educational work in that country, suggests memories of the service of the East India Company. * Everyone who has paid attention to the subject must be aware that the Company—originally chartered for the purposes of trade—had lost its commercial character during the nineteenth century and had even ceased to be supreme in the direction of political affairs in the vast territories won to the flag by its military and diplomatic exertions. But the civil administration continued to be carried on by officials selected, commissioned, and paid by the directing body by which the Company was yet represented : and it says much for the activity of the Yankee mind that, in beginning to run an oriental Dependency in the Phillippines, they should address themselves to studying the means by which the British Company provided for such work.

That the system pursued at the E.-I. College was not perfect our authors readily admit. Indeed they point decisively to the flaw in its entire conception and conduct : namely, the controlling of the College by the same body by whose members the students had been nominated. Holding their office by the pleasure of the same men, the Principal and his Council were unwilling to ruin their own patrons' nominees : and hence the discipline of the place lacked the ultimate sanction of expulsion by which alone it could have been made effective. Cases therefore occurred in which men were sent out to govern India who had never been reduced to obedience or taught to govern themselves. A shrewd female observer, in the first-half of the century, gave instances of the unfitness of some of the men whom she met, regarding them from the point of view offered to a lady visitor. "Their poor dear manners were quite gone . . . . . The gentlemen talk of Vizier Ali and Lord Cornwallis; the ladies do not talk at all; and I do nt know which I like best . . . . . Towards the end of the rainy season the lowness of spirits that comes on is quite dreadful: everyone fancies that he is going to die ; and then, he thinks, no one will bury him as there is no other European at hand. *Moral:* Never send a son to India." ("Up the Country ; Hon. Emily Eden, 2 vols, 3rd ed.: London, 1866.)

Colonial Civil Service; A. Lawrence Lowell and H. Morse Stephens, New York, 1900.

Such was the impression made on the Governor-General's sister by the Haileybury Civilians of 1839; and, however, we may suspect a little caricature, we can easily imagine a certain lack of energy in the administration of those forlorn exiles. Very unflattering pictures, also, of their military *confrères* appear in works of the day; and it must be borne in mind that the Company's Army furnished many an understudy for the most important parts in the drama of public life. Kaye's "Long Engagements"—a forgotten fiction of the first Afghan war—and Sir Willam Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections" may in this connection deserve a passing notice; as also "Oakfield," a somewhat later work by W. D. Arnold. It was ungraciously observed, by Arnold's more famous brother, that "no Arnold could write a novel;" the subsequent success of Mrs. Humphrey Ward not being visible to her uncle's prophetic soul. Certainly "Oakfield" is dead and buried: it was never a brilliant story; yet there could be no doubt as to the author's view of Anglo-Indian Society or what he called "Fellowship in the East." He soon left the army for educational work, and died young, leaving a son, the energetic military reformer known to the present generation as H. O. Arnold Foster, M. P.

In one respect, at least, it may be hoped that Anglo-Indian administration has made a great advance since the Company's days. Under the influences of public opinion and of improved civilisation greater earnestness may be well supposed to have established itself; and with it a diminution of selfishness and injustice in high places. In the times of Miss Eden—say in the first twenty years of Queen Victoria—the officers entrusted with civil charges in the Indian Mufassal could not—unless protected by strong interest—rely on Governmental recognition, or expect to prosper in direct ratio to their merits and deserts. It would be a strong indication of ignorance of the world if one were to assume that all men became perfect in wisdom and in virtue by wriggling from stool to stool in a Government Office; on the other hand it would be absurd to argue that these merits are hopelessly excluded from the arena of an official hierachy. But the familiar instances of Sir D. Ochterlony in 1825 and of William Tayler in 1857 are enough to show the powers of a bureaucracy, and the occasional lapses from justice to which it may be liable. Failures of another sort were always possible where the civilians of the old school had lost touch with the people. The Orissa Famnine of 1866 is a case in point. Its treatment, according to a most loyal supporter of the Indian Government in general, "left a deep stain on the reputation of the Bengal authorities" (Marshman.)

Admissions of this kind, it must be remembered, do not

necessarily involve the character of the whole body of men turned out from the Company's College. Some were hard bargains indeed, men who would never have got into the service, but for the favour of their patrons and the unwillingness of the Principal to ruin their careers; but even of these there were some brave and honest men who made an excellent use of their slender powers in times of stress like the Mutiny. Others, of a more disciplined and plodding order, rose in the Secretariat to become conscientious, if somewhat formal, Ministers and Lieutenant-Governors. All honour to the men who founded and consolidated the great "empire of the middle classes," and to those who rule it at the present hour. The provincial staff has always been devoted and earnest; while central authorities, if not free from the temptations of their place, have generally held and followed a high ideal of duty.

The writer of these pages may, perhaps, incur the charge of egotism: his only excuse is that what he has to say about the Company's College, and the service which it engendered, is based upon direct personal testimony. As readers of Mr. Lowell will remember, the writer is mentioned as one not only trained at Haileybury but actually born there: including his father's traditions his memory covers a period extending from 1824—when the College was fifteen years old—to the time when he left it for India in 1847. In the former of these years his father had lately settled there as Professor of Arabic and Persian; and amongst his colleagues were several distinguished men—Cobbett's "Parson Malthus," C. W. LeBas, a divine of the *via media;* presently after came J. A. Jeremie, afterwards Regius, Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, and others whose names would convey little meaning now, but who, nevertheless were good men in their time; law was taught by Empson, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review.*

The period was not exciting. In the earlier years the throne was occupied by that medieval roué George IV, a monarch who had but little influence on the affairs of India or of the Company. Before coming to the Royal title George had for about ten years been Regent; and it was during the Regency that the Company's Charter came up for renewal, not without much preliminary discussion on selection and preparation in Parliament and in the Press. Already, in 1806, a staff of teachers had been selected by the Court of Directors, and a training-school for the aspirants to Indian administration opened in Hertford Castle to be transferred to Haileybary—a small manor about two miles off—some three years later. At first little more than a seminary "for the reception of students at the age of fifteen, to remain till they are sent by the Court

to their respective destinations." The academical character of the College was not finally determined until 1813.

During the discussions preliminary to the renewal of the Charter in that year the question of nomination to the Indian Civil Service had been among the points debated. And Lord Grenville—one of Pitt's ablest followers kept out of office by his liberal opinions—made a proposal which in some degree anticipated the modern system of Competitive Examination. He refused to allow that the retention of this valuable patronage by the Company's Directors was the only alternative to its being made an engine of political corruption. That, indeed, might have been the rock on which the ship split in Fox's charge thirty years before; as no one knew better than Grenville who had been a party to the wreck. What he now suggested was that the nominations should de taken out of the hands of the Company, not to be transferred to the Board of Control or any other organ of the Government, but to be offered to a competition among the boys at public schools; and the selected candidates were to receive their training not at a special College like Haileybury, but at the National Universities among youths of their class.

The danger passed; the Company's Charter was renewed without detriment to the power of nomination: by the Act of 1813 the College obtained parliamentary recognition, and the status of an academy of adult students in caps and gowns, on a similar footing to one of the Colleges in the Universities. No person, it was provided, should be sent out in the service who had not passed two years at the College, and the minimum age for entrance was fixed at seventeen.

Such was the condition of the College when the writer's father joined in 1824 as Prosessor of Arabic and Persian: shortly after he was made Registrar—much the same office as that of the Bursar at Oxford. His lodging was in a commodious house on the northern side of the Quadrangle, in the upper part of which was fixed the College-clock: and in this house his eldest son was born. The Principal in those days was a distinguished Cambridge man who had been third Wrangler and Fellow of Trinity; the Rev. Joseph Hallett Batten, D.D, Fellow of the Royal Society, who had begun his connection with the College as Professor of Classics. This accomplished man, whose house was at the S.-W. angle, next the chapel, held office on less than three-and-twenty years; and under him were trained most of the men who made the great reputation of the Company's Service: Mr. James Thomason, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Lord Lawrence, "the Saviour of India."

If the Reverend Professor of Arabic had less academical

distinction to show than Dr. Batten he had seen a great deal of the world. Originally a soldier, he had borne part, under Arthur Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, in the short campaign which ended in the fall of Tippoo Sultan and the usurping dynasty of Mysore. Afterwards entering the College of Fort Willam, where the Civilians were trained before the establishment of Haileybury, he passed a few years in the Madras Civil Service. He entered Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Fellow-Commoner in 1-10; and became a man of some note, graduating in honours and being elected a Fellow of his College, which involved his being ordained a clergyman of the Anglican Church. After the fall of Napoleon he made a tour in Europe with Lord Mahon, afterwards Earl Stanhope, F.R.S., the well-known historian; finally settled down in England to contest the Arabic Chair at Cambridge, and on being defeated by the eminent Hebraist Dr. Samuel Lee—obtained the appointment at Haileybury as already stated.*

One's earliest memory of the College is thus different from that of others, having been received from the point of view offered by a Professor's house. It is somewhat obliterated, no doubt, by the later recollections of a student, like an old M.S., obscured on a Palimpsest. Only two aspects are left at all distinct; one of a general complaint of lawlessness, the other of a certain atmosphere of good old-world social life. Instances of the one occur in connection with some frequency. Miss Martineau used to come as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Malthus; we exchanged visits with Lord John Townshend, of Balls, an old *viveur* of the days of Fitzpatrick, Fox and the Dandies; on the occasion of terminal inspections we saw Sir Charles Wilkins, who had been one of the early members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the days of Warren Hastings. Francis Jeffery used to appear at Empson's, who had married Jeffrey's daughter. As for the Students, a certain element of apprehension was not altogether absent; although some of them had been tamed so far as to be admitted to the Professor's houses, the results were not always quite satisfactory. A young man afterwards a distinguished and decorous member of the Indian Government, went to Gorhambury races; and returning late at night availed himself of his knowledge of our premises to let himself in by the kitchen-window and enter the College Quad by unlocking our front-door from within. Occasionally the conduct of these young libertines assumed a wilder licence. One evening, when Mrs. LeBas had been at our house, my father was escorting her to the sedan-chair which

* See article in Vol. XXX of the "Dictionary of National Biography."

awaited her at the door when he was forcibly restrained by some of the students who had been of the party. In another moment was heard a loud explosion; and the sedan-chair was hoisted into the air, a charge of gunpowder having been placed in a drain-pipe and fired just as the good lady was stepping into her vehicle. She escaped with a fright; and I fear that my father never disclosed the identity of his well-wishers whose favourable intervention must have betrayed a guilty knowledge. At another time, when the infant who has since developed into the present aged babbler was lying in his cradle, a huge boulder came crashing through the nursery-window and lodged on the arched top of the basinette. On hearing the nurse's outcry my father rushed out into the Quad to find two or three Students who apologised for the fractured pane, on the ground that the clock was too fast and they had no means of correction but by throwing stones at the hands. One of the most lawless of the students of that time is said to have been named John Lawrence, who entered in 1827. He obtained a nomination vacated by the late Charles Merivale, who died Dean of Ely, and who was wont to say that, as the cause of Lawrence's appointment he, Merivale, was the real Saviour of India.

II.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century brought many changes to the College. Amongst the deaths the most noticeable were those of Mr. Malthus and Dr. Batten. The former was succeeded in the Chair of Political Economy ("Polly Con." as the young men said) by the Rev. Richard Jones, a Poor Law Commissioner and a writer of some temporary authority on the subject of Rent. The demise of Dr. Batten, a few years later, left the post of Principal open to the Dean, Mr. Le Bas, in whose hands the discipline of the College is believed to have suffered. Before his accession, however, our direct knowledge of the matter had ceased; my father having retired in 1834.

The personal peculiarities which made LeBas an inadequte ruler of turbulent youths fully aware of the immunities which they derived from the protection of their patrons are stated by Mr. Stephens with much frankness: and one's own recollection of the worthy gentleman is in general agreement with what is stated by him. In appearance LeBas somewhat resembled Charles Lamb; with a smooth, low-comedy countenance, an undersized figure, and little legs clothed in shorts and black gaiters. Add to this that he was very hard of hearing, with a high uncontrolled voice, and a quaint way of interlarding his talk with Latin quotations and words that he himself would probably have styled "sesquipedalian." For

example, I remember going to Brighton just after passing out of College after several false starts: one day I walked to the Post office to put a letter into the box: there was a bit of a crawd at the window; and out of the crowd behind me I heard a shrill cry—

"Well, sir, so you've got out at last: I congratulate you. Post tot naufragiatutus!"

It was the ex-principal who had chosen Brighton for his residence; and who coming on a like errand with myself, had recognised me as I stood before him. Sir. M. Monier-Williams mentions his rebuking some of the stone-throwers of the Quad. by reminding them that it was forbidden to "lithobolise" there; and a case was on record in which, sending for a student who had been reported to have given a wine-party on a Sunday evening, "the Prin"—as he was called—added the special reproach:—

"And I understand, Sir, that you were the *Coryphæus of this unhallowed assemblage.*"

LeBas had just ceased to govern when I entered the College as a student; but I had found him there the year before, when I visited it from Oxford. On that occasion I dined at the high table in Hall and was honoured with a seat next to the Principal. During dinner our attention was pretty well occupied; but in a pause he curved his hand over his ear and loudly demand:—"How is your grandmother, Sir?"

"She's dead, Sir," was my reply.

Before the cloth was drawn occurred another pause, during which the courteous but forgetful old man again asked me the same question. From the pitch of his voice all in the neighbourhood were now roused; and, amid the curious gaze of surrounding Professors, waiters, and students, he presently added in some impatience—"I'm asking about your grandmother." Thus urged, I too, had to raise my voice as I gave the only possible answer—"She's still dead."

When I got my nomination to the College the good old mannerist was gone, having been suceeeded by Henry Melvill, brother of the Secretary to the India-House. The Principal's name is probably not very familiar now; but Melvill was a well-known man at the time; genial, strong, and eloquent, the Chrysostom of Evangelicalism. Jeremie had succeeded LeBas when the latter was promoted from Dean to Principal; and he was understood to feel resentment at not being made his successor now. Empson was still lecturing on Law and Morals, in other words pouring out an indistinct torrent of utilitarian philosophy, in which morsels of common law, statute, civil law, and equity came floating along, *in gurgite vasto.* Jones held forth on rent, land-tenures, and Indian

History, an awful but grotesque figure, with a bloated red face surmounted by chestnut wig. It is hardly needful to add that the students who chose to attend carefully and continuously at the lectures of these able teachers soon found his account in solid value of the ludicrous element was superficial; the The way of was this. The Professor undertook to explain certain authoritative text-books; and expected the students to take notes of what he said. At the end of the term those who had taken such notes intelligently and without interruption could submit them to the Professor for inspection, after which there would be a general examination of the class, the questions being based upon the course that had been delivered during the term. Bad work was denoted by the letter L. against one's name, the better performances being G., or Gt., and a handsome prize of books, or a silver medal awarded to the best. L. meant "little progress," while Gt. stood for "good" or "great." I may illustrate the item by stating what occurred at the end of a term between Mr Jones and a student who found that attendance at Professor's lectures interfered with breakfast and who contented himself with studying the text-book and up the notes taken by one of his friends. When the examination was over Jones sent for the young man and accused him of having copied his papers from other work: "You could not have sent in such a paper unless, as you have not been at any of my lectures." On the young man repudiating the charge and explaining his *modus operandi*, Jones offered alternatives; either the paper should be marked G. or the student might undergo a special *viva-voce* examination, in which—as the Professor hinted—his ignorance would be soon brought to light. Rightly surmising that Jones would resent the trouble of a special examination the young man shrewdly answered:—

"Well, Sir, I have told you the truth, and cannot do better than leave myself in your hands."

The kindly Professor ultimately awarded the mark of Gt. to which the intrinsic quality of the work was admitted to have established a title.

During the three years of my student life at the old College the times were tranquil. The Afghan war was just over; the main excitement of the country,—always excitable,—was over Maynooth and the Corn Laws; and both questions were earnestly discussed amongst us youngsters, mainly from the high Tory point of view. Our life was joyous rather than wilfully insubordinate; and the authorities for the most part connived at little irregularities conceived in that spie. Writ

had a Debating Society in which the Conserv[illegible] majority was led by Temple, since distinguished as Governor of Bombay and Vice-Chairman of the London School-Board. The Liberals were best represented by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, known to later times as President of the association for promoting international Arbitration. Besides the Debating Society there was a social club, the "Wellesley," which was a little exclusive and guarded jealously the admission to its limited ranks. We had a "chartered toast," accompained by a [illegible] with the refrain, "a health to the Marquess, God bless him!" This postmortem homage to a long-departed Governor-General was celebrated by help of a grand silver cup filled with generous port wine; and had, probably, more effect on our health than on that of the deceased. But the practical result was that we constituted ourselves a medium of communication between the College and the World, and assumed the duty of [illegible] ing distinguished visitors to Haileybury.

It will be understood that all such revelry was against [illegible] and the authorities had ample means of control in the [illegible] of nightly inspection carried on by the servants. The[illegible] but one entrance to the College Quadrangle from [illegible] was namely, the western gate facing the London road. Here, installed a janitor—Wiltshire by name—whose duty it was to [illegible] up at sunset and enter in his book the names of all stu[illegible] entering after a certain hour. We were then supposed to [illegible] the evenings in our rooms, absorbed in ssudy either solitary or shared with an equally assiduous comrade; and at the ho[illegible] assigned for retirement, one of the staff went round knocki[illegible] at each door with the question—"Alone, Sir?" If this was sometimes answered by a cheerful chorus of convivial voi[illegible] no evil consequnces usually resulted.

The relaxation of rules hereby involved was mainly d[illegible] the progress of time and the mitigating action of experi[illegible] In the earlier constitution of the College it had been intende[illegible] that discipline should be adminstered by the collective body of the Professors sitting in Council. But in Melvill's day the power and responsibility had been consolidated in the hands of the Principal: and his ability, good-nature, and genial hospitality had combined to give him great and beneficial influnce. It is not too much to say that the more valuable features of academic discipline had been greatly strengthend by the apparent relaxation of rigour which ensued.

I recollect an instance of the tact with which Melvill turned aside what might have proved a dangrrous blow to the well being of the College—or, at least, to that of some of its alumni. It occurred in this wise. A number of the students had combined their resources for the purchase of a billiard-table

which—with the fittings and appurtenances— had been erected in the old Rye House, famous as the scene of Rumbold's abortive plot against the life of King Charles I. On the opposite shore of the river Lea—which was here crossed by a road-bridge—there was an inn much frequented by cockney anglers, and used by members of the College addicted to boating and bathing. The innkeeper having failed, the estate passed into the hands of Trustees in Bankruptcy who attached our billiard table, etc., as forming part of the assets. In vain we pointed out the hardship of this, seeing that the property obviously did not belong to the estate. The Solicitor to the Trustees could only answer that he found the names of many of the students on the inn books as debtors for dinners and drinks; he would therefore hold the things as security for such claims until we could prove our case in Court. On receiving this ultimatum we resolved to break the lien asserted to exist by carrying off the property: fortified, as we were, by the opinion of counsel that, if it were once taken out of the possession of the Trustees, all such claims would lapse. Accordingly, one dark November night, we went down with a wagon and carried off the table, with cues, balls, lamps, and furniture; depositing them in a friendly quarter at Ware. As soon as Mr. Murray, the man in possession, discovered the loss he proceeded to the residence of the nearest Magistrate, to whom (in spite of the late hour) he insisted on relating the case with a demand for warrants on a charge of burglary. Among the members of the Club were some who afterwards filled high offices in the Indian Empire; but the only men whom Mr. Murray could identify were the writer of these lines and the present Marquess of Tweeddale—then Lord william Hay—and in their names accordingly were the nocturnal warrants made out. On the following morning Murray presented himself at Wiltshire's Gates, demanding execution of these warrants; but Wiltshire would only refer him to the Principal. Melvill accordingly sent for Hay and myself, and concealing Murray behiud a door, proceeded to ask us for an explanation. On hearing the facts the good Principal broke into a hearty fit of laughter, and dismissed us. We heard no more of the warrants, and could only presume that our Principal had sent Murray away in accordance with the Horatian moral—

"Solvuntur risu tabulae—tu missus abibis".

My connection with the College ceased in 1846; and of its later fortunes I have no personal experience: but a pleasant picture has been supplied by Mr. E. Lockwood, who was a Student there in the years immediately preceding the discontinuance of the system to which it owed its existence.

Discipline and training appear to have gone on improving: and the men turned out during those closing years were perhaps up to an even higher general level than had hitherto been usual. A few—notably Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Auckland Colvin—lived to earn distinction in many important fields and to become, in a most conspicuous degree, Men of the Time.

The conclusion arrived at by Messrs. Lowell and Stephens is remarkable, opposed as it is to modern ideas, however supported by the facts.

"It appears clearly," says Mr. Stephens, "from this story of the patronage-system of the East Indian Company as to appointments . . . . that patronage, when checked by training at a special College entered only after a qualifying examination, produces results not inferior to open competitive examination . . . . Most clearly of all is it proved that the chief advantage of such a College, as Haileybury, lay not so much in the actual instruction afforded as in the association together of young men intended for a career in common in which they specially needed the traditions of a noble service." In the earlier portion of the work Mr. Lowell applies these and similar considerations to the support of his proposal that American colonial work should be entrusted to young men specially prepared. In any case it is presumable that the people of the United States would never agree to the adoption of a system under which an overeducated Bengali can be sent to govern Sikhs or Afridis, and the administration of an important colonial sea-port be entrusted to a full-blooded buck Negro.

The stress laid by the authors on the association of the young men is by no means exaggerated. Not only were traditions of honourable duty established, but the corporate spirit fostered was on the whole beneficial. And these things were perhaps more practically useful than all the book-learning in the world.

No properly-informed person will contend that old Haileybury was an ideal place of education, or deny that, in comparison with other institutions, it was a rather lath-and-plaster Temple of the Muses. All that can be claimed for it is, perhaps, that it answered the purpose for which it was intended and that went on improving itself to the last. The declared intention was to provide a place where young men of a certain social class, after giving proofs of good character and attainments, should live together for a time and receive instruction in certain branches of knowledge which would be useful to them in the career which they had undertaken. Whatever protection may have attended the sons and nephews

of the Directors after they had become Students at the College, the entrance-examinations at least were conducted by competent and impartial scholars; and it was my personal conviction—going up as I did from Oxford—that a knowledge of the required subjects would have more than sufficed to ensure a University Degree. Nor, indeed, was the ordeal without its terrors; some candidates abstained from presenting themselves and were consoled by commissions in the Company's Army; while others only qualified themselves by the aid of special trainers, amongst whom I particularly remember hearing of a Mr. Rowsell by whom several of my contemporaries were prepared to face the Examiners.

This ordeal once passed, with certain satisfaction of the Court in regard to moral character, the youths entered the College and became exposed to the temptations incidental to their age and circumstances. The defect in sanction, arising from the known reluctance to blight a protegé's career, has been already shown; but it would be quite a mistake to infer that the Students' progress was neglected or that they were usually sent to their important work in India as perfect dunces. The nature of two of the "European" Courses—Political Economy and Law, has been already mentioned; other subjects were equally attended to. Jeremie lectured in the Library, expounding Plato and Cicero with a wide and various apparatus of illustration. Heaviside—afterwards Canon of Norwich—taught science, or some branch of applied mathematics. In the oriental side we had Francis Johnson, editor of Richardson's Arabic Dictionary, and Monier-Williams, afterwards Boden Professor at Oxford. Eastwick and Ouseley looked after Urdu and Persian; provision being also made for the languages of Madras and Bombay.

Nor was all this a more show. Eminent scholars came down to test our work at the end of each term, or what was known as "Dist," Day. In that terminal examination a certain number of L. marks involved the loss of the term; and the oss of two consecutive terms vacated one's appointment. If, after all precautions, a dunce did occasionally succeed in getting to India, he was not always a bad fellow for rough work: in any case he had not made culture an industry or learned to loathe books like a grocer's boy surfeited with figs. Clearly, the names recorded in this book of Messrs. Lowell and Stephens are enough to show that old Haileybury was quite able to turn out men whose reputation extended even beyond the limits of India. Competition has probably raised the general level of knowledge; it has not yet produced better scholars than Brian Hodgson, better statesmen than John Lawrence.

ART VI.—MILITARY WEAPONS OF THE HINDUS.

IN this Essay, we shall try to show that as regards Military Science and the handling of martial weapons, the Hindus held their own against, and, in some respects, were even superior to the other nations.

Our main stay is *Mahabharata*. Amongst the *Puranas* we have consulted the *Vishnu* and the *Markandeya-Chandi* chiefly. The earlier dramas, especially the *Mricchakatika*, the oldest of them, were also before us. The invaluable help we had from the treatises on military tactics (some of which are still extant, while many of these, we fully believe, have perished) such as the *Dhanurveda* of Vaisampayana, the excellent collection of *Sarngadhar*, the *Sukraniti* and the *Virchintamani*, whilst the *Koshas*, especially the valuable edition of *Amar* by Dr. Colebrooke, have proved of great help to us. Our thanks are also due to Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, the indefatigable editor of the *Viswa Kosha*, the Encyclopædia Bengaliana, for the valuable suggestions found in his book.

At the very outset, we shall refer to Sukracharjya, who draws a fine distinction between the two different classes of weapons the *Nalika* and the *Mantrika*. Those weapons which are "hurled at the foe," with the recitations of *Mantras*, were called the *Mantrikas*, and those which were discharged by the aid of Nala-jantra (cannon or muskets) were called the *Nalikas*. The author goes on to say that the former are to be used when the latter are not available. As we mean to deal with *Mantrika* weapons later on, we should like to take up the subject of Nalika instruments at first. This distinction, as we see, corresponds to the modern distinction of ordinary weapons and fire-arms. The able Editor of the *Viswa Kosha*, the Bengali Encyclopædia, Babu Nagendra Nath Basu, is perfectly right in thinking that they roughly correspond to modern muskets or pistols.* There seems to have been three synonyms of the words,—Nālika, Nâlika and Nâla (নালিকা, নলিকা, নল), Mention is made of this instrument even so early as the Vedas, in the Atharwan and Krishna Yajur Vedas respectively, where they are given the characteristic appellation of *Sūrmee*. The *Asuras* by the help of these weapons used to kill their enemies by hundreds. The distinguished commentator of the Vedas Sayana, explains this word† as meaning 'a cylindrical hollow

* See his able and suggestive explanations of these words in Vol. IX of the *Viswa Kosha*.

† Commenting on the Sloka "এষা বৈসূর্ম্মীকর্ণকাবত্যেনয়াহস্য" &c. (কৃষ্ণযজুর্ব্বেদ ১।৫।৬।৭)

iron tube.' It occurs also several times in the *Dhanurveda* of Vaisampayana, in the *Sukraniti*, in *Virchintamani*, as well as in both the Sanskrit epics. Vaisampayna, for instance, explains Nalika as being "Nala or reed-shaped (whence its name), of a dark-blue colour, of a rectilineal and cylindrical form, hollow at the centre, capable of piercing the bones of the enemies.*" "From within these weapons," he goes on to describe, "Aiah Karana (অয়ঃকরণ), [or as in Mahabharata Aiah-Kana (অয়ঃ-কণ)], *i.e.*, iron-bullets are projected with violent force to pierce the vital parts of the enemies. Three-fold duties are involved in the manipulation of these weapons: first, handling; secondly, igniting; and lastly, hurling them on the enemies. Any one skilled in these three is sure to gain victory over an approaching enemy." The excellent, though small collection of Sarngadhara has a Sloka describing the opportune moment of using these instruments. He says that "Nalika are small bullets (lit. 'arrows') discharged by the *Nala-jantra* (cannon). They are to be used when the enemy is on a great height or in besieging forts. To leave no room for doubt Sukracharjya describes the different shapes and sizes of these rifles and cannon, the different purposes for which these ought to be used, their respective weights, the means of carrying them, and even the use and preparation of gunpowder with which they are to be stuffed. As this description, we dare say, is likely to prove interesting to our readers, we quote here the Slokas in original:—

"অস্ত্রন্তু দ্বিবিধং জ্ঞেয়ং নালিকং মান্ত্রিকং তথা।
যদা তু মান্ত্রিকং নাস্তি নালিকং তত্র ধারয়েৎ॥
নালিকং দ্বিবিধং জ্ঞেয়ং বৃহৎ ক্ষুদ্র বিভেদতঃ।
তির্য্যগূর্দ্ধচ্ছিদ্রমূলং নালং পঞ্চবিতস্তিকং॥
মূলাগ্রয়োর্লক্ষভেদি তিলবিন্দুযুতং সদা।
যন্ত্রাঘাতাগ্নিকৃৎগ্রাবচূর্ণধৃক্কর্ণমূলকং॥
সুকাষ্ঠোপাঙ্গবুধ্নঞ্চ মধ্যাঙ্গুলবিলান্তরং।
স্বাগ্রেঽগ্নিচূর্ণসন্ধাতু শলাকাসংযুতং দৃঢ়ং॥
লঘুনালিকমপ্যেতৎ প্রধার্য্যং পত্তিসাদিভিঃ॥
যথা যথা তু ত্বক্সারং যথা স্থূলবিলান্তরং।
যথাদীর্ঘং বৃহৎগোলং দূরভেদী তথা তথা॥
মূলকীলদ্রমাল্লক্ষ্য সমসন্ধানভাজিতৎ॥

* "নলিকা ঋজুদেহা স্যাৎ তন্বঙ্গী মধ্যরন্ধ্রিকা।
মর্ম্মচ্ছেদকরী নীলা————॥" (বৈশম্পায়নোক্ত ধনুর্ব্বেদঃ।)
নালীকালঘবো বাণা নলযন্ত্রেণ নোদিতাঃ।
অত্যুচ্চদূরপাতেষু দুর্গমধ্যেষু তে মতাঃ॥ (শার্ঙ্গধর সংগ্রহীত ধনুর্ব্বেদঃ)

বৃহন্নালিকসংজ্ঞংতৎ কাষ্ঠবুধ্নবিবর্জ্জিতং।
প্রবাহ্যং শকটাদ্যৈস্তু সুযুক্তং বিজয়প্রদং ॥"

(শুক্রনীতি ৪।৭ অঃ।)

Sukracharjya, in defining the above two words, says:—"Weapons (in general) are of two kinds, the *Nálikâ* and the *Mántrika*. The former are to be used where the later are not available. *Nálikâ* weapons are divided into two classes, the *Laghu-Nálikâ* or the smaller *Nálikâ* and the *Brihat Nálikâ* or the larger *Nálikâ*. Of these, the dimension of the smaller is about five *Bitasthis* or cubits, or about five feet in length. It is made up of an iron tube, hollow at the centre, that hole stretching from bottom upwards, *i.e.*, towards the muzzle as seen from the outer surface with a cock at the middle to fix aim between that point and the muzzle (lit. topmost point) and a stone underneath which when struck (by this cock), emits fire. Adjoining is the receptacle of gun-powder (অগ্নিচূর্ণ) with the handle and adjacent parts made up of a good quality of wood. The central hollow ought to be of such a diameter as to allow the middle finger of a man to pass with ease. Attached to the iron tube is a hard iron pike to stuff gun-powder with. This is known as the *Laghu-Nalika* and are used by the infantry."

"As to the *Brihat-Nalikas*, the more hard its tube or cell (lit. 'skin'), the larger its size, the greater the space in its central hollow, correspondingly greater would be the size of the iron balls and greater is the distance to which these can be projected. It has no wooden handle or pike attached to the tube. It is carried in wagons or by camels. If properly manœvoured, it is sure to give victory. This is named as the *Brihat-Nalikas*."

From the above it is quite clear that the former weapon resembled very closely the modern rifle and the latter, the cannon. To leave no room for doubt, Sukracharjya dwells on the mode of preparation of the balls, the bullets and gunpowder. He mentions several methods of the preparation of the latter of which we mention only one. We intend to deal with it fully when we come to treat of the military tactics of the Hindus:—

"সুবচ্চিলবণান্ পঞ্চপলানি গন্ধকাৎপলং।
অন্তর্ধূমবিপক্কার্কমুহ্যাদ্যঙ্গারতঃ ফলং ॥
শুদ্ধাৎ সংগৃহ্য সংচূর্ণ্য সম্মীল্য প্রপুটেদ্রসৌঃ।
মুহুর্কাণাং রসোনস্য শোষয়েদাতপেন চ।
পিষ্টা শর্করবচ্চৈতদগ্নিচূর্ণং ভবেৎ খলু ॥"

"Mix five *palas* (?) of nitre with a *pala* of sulphur and the charcoal of the *Arka* plant (Calotropis Gigantea) from which the smoke at the time of putting out of the fire had not escaped (অন্তর্ধূমবিপক্ক). First pound them separately, and then mix them together with the juice of the above plant and of garlic. Let the mixture be dried in the sunshine and then pound them up like sugar. Thus will *Agnichurna* be prepared."

As regards the method of preparing the cannon balls and the bullets and their use Sukracharjya goes on to say:— "For the *Brihat-Nálikâ*, it is necessary to make balls of iron. They may be of two kinds, one solid, and the other, hollow, with small bullets within (like our modern shells). The bullets for the *Laghu-Nálikâ* are to be made of lead and fitted to the shapes of the tubes." From the above it is plainly manifest that the Hindus used fire-arms and knew of the use of gun-powder long before the Battle of Crecy, and knew also of the method of preparing gunpowder long before the Chinese. Even if these *Slokas* be rejected by any captious critic (as they have been by some) on the ground of their being subsequent interpolations into the original text, and that no such mention is made in earlier works like the *Dhanurvedas* of Vaisampayana and Sarngadhar, no writer has yet ventured to make out *Sukranati* to be a work later than the early Mahomedan conquests, *i.e.*, later than the seventh century A.D., a time when the use of fire-arms by any nation was unheard of.

That the Hindus had occasion to use Nalika weapons or fire-arms can also be proved by the unbiassed testimony of several foreign critics, who are agreed in thinking that the Hindus knew their use from a very early time. During the excavation of a canal of the Ganges near Behat, the ruins of a very ancient village were discovered. From the relics that were restored from thence were found coins from the inscriptions on which the epigraphists came to the conclusion that these could not have been of a later origin than the fifth century B. C. Prinsep,* quotes from Colonel Cautley's report of the discovery, who says that amongst the relics discovered, "there were other things, one bearing in some respects a resemblance to a small cannon, another to a button-hook, etc." This is a small relic, restored to us by the merest accident, whose origin cannot reasonably be traced to any other source except by their use in early times. These evidences are quoted here not because that they are conclusive, but as evidences they deserve some notice from an honest chronicler. Here we ought

* In his "Indian Antiquities," Vol. I. For the fac-simile of the coin, see plate XIX.

to mention also of the repeated recurrence of the word *Sataghni* (শতঘ্নী), (literally 'centicide' or slayer of a hundred), in the Sanskrit Epics as well as in some of the *Puranas*, especially the *Srimadbhagabat*.

It occurs, to cite here one instance out of many; in the 5th chapter of the 1st Canto of the Ramayana. Here the poet is describing Ayodhya, the birth place of his hero and the lordly residence of the descendants of the renowned race of Ikshaku. The great city is described "as of 12 *Yojanas* in length, gracefully divided by its three broad and well-watered highways, sweet and fragrant with fresh flowers strewn over them. Here king Dasaratha lived, like the god Indra in Heaven, whose benign government had immensely swelled the population of his capital. Here the city lay with its triumphal arcs, with well-marked divisions of rows of shops, with its arsenals filled with every sort of weapons and dwelt by every kind of artisans."* Next comes the Sloka, to which we wish to direct the special attention of our readers. "This graceful city," continues the poet, "of unparalleled magnificence was filled with bands of bards and minstrels. It had lofty towers over which pennons 'streamed in state' and bristling with hundred *Sataghnis*."†

Mr. Griffith, the able translator of Ramayana, has translated it as "wondrous engines dealing death." This, as it stands, is somewhat vague, as it leaves the reader in doubt to determine precisely what these "wondrous engines" were. By this, it is not our intention to detract from the merit of this worthy translator, "whose earnest and sympathetic labours, in the field of Ancient Sanskrit Literature have placed within easy reach of the English-speaking people the vast treasures of the

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* "আয়তা দশদ্বে চ যোজনানি মহাপুরী।
শ্রীমতী ত্রীণি বিস্তীর্ণা সুবিভক্তমহাপথা॥
রাজমার্গেণ মহতা সুবিভক্তেন শোভিতা।
মুক্তপুষ্পাবকীর্ণেন জলসিক্তেন নিত্যশঃ॥
তাং তু রাজা দশরথো মহারাষ্ট্রবিবর্দ্ধনঃ।
পুরীমাবাসয়ামাস দিবি দেবপতির্যথা॥
কপাটতোরণবতীং সুবিভক্তান্তরাপণাম্।
সর্ব্বযন্ত্রায়ুধবতীমুষিতাং সর্ব্বশিল্পিভিঃ॥"
আদিকাণ্ডং, ৫ম অধ্যায়ঃ,
৭-১০ শ্লোঃ।

† "সূতমাগধ সম্বাধাং শ্রীমতীমতুলপ্রভাং।
উচ্চাট্টালধ্বজবতীং শতঘ্নীশতসঙ্কুলাং॥"

Vedas and the Ramayana,*" as stricter literal accuracy cannot possibly be maintained in a metrical version. Professor Wilson explains *Sataghni* as "a sort of fire-arms or the ancient Indian rocket,† but it is also described as a stone set round with iron spikes."

So it seems that his explanation is not decisive. Besides, we have not seen the application of the word in the sense in which Professor Wilson explains it. The meaning suggested by the commentator, Ramanuja, is more clear and leaves little doubt that a sort of fire-arms was meant. He explains it as a sort of weapon made of ample iron and placed on the ramparts (towers ?) for its defence."‡ Though he has not called it a sort of fire-arms, but from the description he gives of it and from the context it cannot but be reasonably taken to mean a primeval sort of Indian fire-arm. For had it been "a stone, set round with iron spikes," as Professor Wilson has explained it, there was no need of its being placed over city ramparts for its defence. Well might Babu Prafulla Chandra Bannerjee, the late Deputy Postmaster-General of Bengal, and the well-known authority on Valmiki ask "that from all this could the existence of cannons, not certainly with its present perfection, but in its rude primeval form, be reasonably be construed from all these descriptions of Valmiki?" §

We would not tire out the patience of our readers by multiplying instances of this nature. We need quote here only one or two more, that would be enough. Like the word *Sataghni* one is struck with the occurrence of the word *Aiayah-kanapa* (অয়ঃকণপ). We will cite the passage from the Mahabharat in which it occurs :—

"অয়ঃকণপচক্রাশ্চ ভুষণ্ডূদতবাহবঃ
কৃষ্ণপার্থো জিঘাংসন্তঃ ক্রোধসম্মূর্চ্ছিতৌজসঃ ॥"
১।২২৫।২৫।

Here the word, অয়ঃকণপ, is explained by Nilkantha to mean "a weapon which discharges iron balls by the aid of gunpowder."‖ If we may accept the meaning suggested by the

* Babu Nobin Chundra Das, M.A., in his "Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia compiled from Valmiki-Ramayana."

† Professor Monier Williams has explained 'rocket' as অগ্নিবাণঃ, ধূপঃ ভুশুণ্ডী, শতঘ্নী, তারা।

‡ "শতঘ্ন্যো নাম প্রাকারসংরক্ষণার্থং অয়োভারনির্ম্মিতাঃ প্রাকারোপরিস্থাপিতাঃ আয়ুধবিশেষাঃ"—আদিকাণ্ডে ৫ম সর্গে ১০ম শ্লোকস্য রামানুজ টীকা।

§ In his excellent Bengali work entitled "Valmiki and his Times."

‖ "অয়ঃকণান্ লৌহগুলিকান্ পিবতীতি তৎ তথাবিধং লৌহময়ং যন্ত্রং যেন আগ্নেয়ৌষধবলেন গর্ভসম্ভূতা লৌহগুলিকা ক্ষিপ্যন্তে"—ইতি নীলকণ্ঠঃ।

commentator, it leaves little space for doubt that some sort of ancient cannon is meant in this passage. Again, in another passage in the 10th Skandha of Bhagabat, where king Salwa's army is described to be scattered by "arrows of the Jadavas which, when they fell were as scorching as the flames of fire, the rays of the hot sun and the fatal fangs of serpents." The gloss of Sreedhara throws some light on the passage. The compounds অগ্ন্যর্কসংস্পর্শৈঃ and আশীবিষদুরাসদৈঃ are explained to mean that "(these arrows) were as burning like the fire, diffusing through the whole body like the rays of the sun and as unbearable as the snake-bite which is fatal even if it is on one part of the human body.*" We leave our readers to determine what precisely these terrible engines of destruction were.

In the 226th chapter of the Adi Parvan of Mahabharat Agni, the god of fire, makes a gift of some fire-arms (আগ্নেয়াস্ত্র) to Krishna. But no detailed description of the same are subjoined, so nothing could possibly be determined about their precise nature. As our short space would not allow us to deal about this class of weapons at more length we conclude our remarks on the subject by quoting from the works of two Savants, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mittra, commenting on the arms of the Ancient India, says :—

"From the frequent mention of *Agni Astra*, or fire-arms, in ancient works, it is to be inferred that the Hindus had some instruments for hurling shells or balls of burning matter on their enemies. No sculpture representation of any such, however, has yet been met with."†

(Dr. Oppert, however, has corrected the latter part of Dr. Mittra's assertion and has mentioned of several such in his excellent book referred to in the footnote.)

Mr. T. N. Mukherjee says :—

"Fire-arms are frequently mentioned in old books, and there is no doubt that at least some terrible destructive agency like the Greek fire was known to the Hindus."‡

About the priority of the discovery of the mode of preparing gunpowder by the Hindus, Professor Beckmann writes :—

"I am more than ever inclined to accede to the opinion of those who believe that gunpowder was invented in India

* "অগ্নিবদ্দাহকঃ অর্কবৎ যুগপৎ সর্ব্বতঃ সংস্পর্শো যেষাং তৈঃ। আশীবিষবৎ একদেশস্পর্শমাত্রেণ মারকত্বাৎ দুরাসদৈঃ দুঃসহৈঃ" ইতি ভাবার্থদীপিকা।

† "Indo Aryans," Vol. I, p. 307.

‡ Art-Manufactures of India," p. 214.

* * * * The use of it in war was forbidden in their sacred books, the Veidam or Vede."*

Now we pass on to the second class of weapons, *viz.*, the *Mantrika* ones.

Here we tread on firmer ground. Of this class of weapons we may speak with something like historical certainty as our assertions are backed by ample historical evidences. These evidences are two-fold.

First, external evidence, or the evidence supplied by foreign writers, who came in contact with the ancient Hindus. They have left the records of their knowledge of the ancient Indians,—of their manners, habits, customs,—of their religion, their mode of worship, their method of fighting,—of their art and literature, in short, the height of civilization to which they had then attained. And these records furnish a rich store of varied and interesting materials for ancient Indian history. Of these three such sources the Greek, the Chinese and the early Mahommedan, we shall have time to deal with only one, *viz.*, the Greek in the present essay and shall take up the other two when we shall deal about the ancient Hindu military art. The second is the internal evidence, or the evidence which we can trace in our Vedas and Puranas, and which evidence we have no reasonable ground to neglect. The Greeks, who came to India during and after the invasion of Alexander, very well testify to the truth that the Hindus held their own against all other early nations in their knowledge of the military art. From them we learn that they knew full well about the use of different weapons in war, had trained elephants and horses and used chariots. In Professor McKrindle's edition of Arrian's Anabasis we find that "in the art of war they were found superior to the other nations, by which Asia was at that time inhabited."† Again Quintus Curtius has also given a very graphic description of the dress of Hindu soldiers. Speaking of the far-renowned wealth of "Gorgeous Ind," says he, "that the country of India is reckoned rich not only in gold, but in all manner of jewels, etc.,—the soldier's shields shone with gold and ivory. Therefore that Alexander

* The History of Inventions, Vol II. For a more detailed treatment of the subject the reader is referred to Professor Wilson's "Essay on the Art of War as known to the Hindus"; to Sir Henry Elliot's "Notes on the early use of gunpowder in India" in his index to the "Historians of Mahommedan India"; to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mittra's "Indo-Aryans," Vol I.; to Dr. Oppert's book "On the 'Army, Organisation, etc., of Ancient Hindus"; to Prof. Lassen's "Indische Alberthum Skunde" (VI, p. 64); to Mr. Maclagan's Early Asiatic Fire Weapons, in the Journal of A. S. B. for 1876, etc.

† Invasion of India by Alexander the Great (as described by Arrian Q. Curtius, etc.) translated by Prof. Mc'Krindle, p. 85.

might not come short of those in finery, whom he surpassed in other respects he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be covered with plates of silver, and the bits of his horses bridles to be made of gold."* Here we find that the refinements in the armours of the Hindu soldiers had excited the envy even of the "great Emathian Conqueror." It justifies the description given in Vishma, Drona and other Parvas in Mahabharat where horse's bridles, shields, breast-plates, feathers of arrows, etc., were described as embroidered with gold. "Arrows," says Mr. T.N.Mukherjee, speaking of the armours used by ancient Hindu soldiers "of later times were of course pointed with iron. Quivers were generally made of hide or basket-work and sometime of metallic plates. Besides shooting the arrows, the bow was also formally used in casting stone or earthen pellets. Slings were used for the same purpose. * * * * Javelins, spears, lances, discus and various other weapons were known to the Ancient Indians. Of non-missile weapons, clubs, maces, swords, daggers, battle-axes of various shapes and sizes, helmets, plate-armour and chainmail were known from the time of the Rig-Veda. The military caste of India, the Kshatriya, has the word 'Varma' or the 'mail-clad' for its surname."†

We shall conclude our catalogue of external evidences by a quotation from Sir George Birdwood's remarks on Indian swords and Indian steel :—

"Indian steel has been celebrated from the earliest antiquity, and the blades of Damascus which maintained their pre-eminence even after the blades of Toledo became celebrated, were in fact of Indian steel. Ctesias mentions two wonderful Indian blades, which were presented to him by the King of Persia and his mother. * * * * We have seen that Arrian mentions Indian steel as imported into the Abyssinian ports."‡.

We are sorry that space does not permit any further quotations. We can only refer our readers to the excellent description as to how the war was conducted in Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian in Professor Mc'Krindle's edition of "Indica." We shall now turn our readers' attention to the internal evidences of the existence of arms and armours, and the perfect knowledge of their use as are mentioned in early Sanskrit Literature. These are immense, and we do not pretend that we will be able to do full justice to them here. The science of war amongst the Hindus, as also amongst the other nations, developed with the development of the nation. From the very earliest times when our Aryan ancestors

* Mr. Rooke's translation of Arrian's "Indica," Vol. I, Chap. XXII.
† "Art Manufactures of India,"—pp. 216-17.
‡ Quoted in Mr. T. N. Mukherjee's Book, p.p. 216-17, pp. 226-21.

were settling in India, from their common camping-ground in Central Asia, and were progressing step by step and conquering the dark-skinned aborigines, this science was making slow yet steady strides towards progress. Formerly stone-missiles with sharpened edges were used. They were superseded by arrows made of iron-ends. By degrees, when iron came to be used amongst the Hindus, swords, daggers, spears and other implements of war were fashioned. Meanwhile they had much progressed as a nation. There was no longer a struggle with the barbarous Non-Aryans, 'the *Dasas*,' 'the *Dasyus*,' 'the yelling hounds'—they had been driven forth or conquered and reduced to bondage. The parts of India that they then inhabited had been well-nigh recovered from their grasp and the Aryans were the masters of the soil. But still there was no peace. For there were rival Aryan dynasties each contending to wield the sovereign supremacy. The final struggle is described in the Mahabharata. It is the struggle of different and powerful contending Aryan dynasties to obtain supreme foothold in India. With the successes of the Pandavas in the field came peace for which India was thirsting for so long. We have made this digression simply to show our readers how Hindu Military tactics developed with the development of the Hindu nation. The rude implements of war during the Vedic period are perfected and we are astounded to find them swelled to form such a complete arsenal during the great Mahabharat period. In this Epic alone, if we but care to study it with a sharp eye towards truth, we shall find how Hindu science of warfare had advanced considerably and was superior in many other respects to other contemporary nations. We shall prove our assertions as we progress in our interesting study. Here we must content ourselves by subjoining a list of weapons mentioned in the Epics principally. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and we have purposely omitted weapons that smack of supernatural agencies. The synonyms are mainly taken from the Amarkosha with the translations of Dr. Colebrooke, and Professor Wilson and Professor Monier Williams :—

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalents.
অস্ত্র	আয়ুধঃ, প্রহরণং, শস্ত্রং।	A weapon.
ধনু	চাপঃ, ধন্বং, শরাসনং, কোদণ্ডং, কার্ম্মুকং, ইষ্বাসঃ।	A bow.
পৌরাণিক ধনুঃ		Bows mentioned in the *Puranas* i—
১ কর্ণের ধনু ...	কালপৃষ্ঠং।	... Bow of Karna = Kalapristha.

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
২ অর্জ্জুনের ধনু ...	গাণ্ডীবঃ।	... Bow of Arjun = Gandiva.
৩ শিবের ধনু ...	পিণাকঃ, অজগবং।	... Bow of Siva = Pinaka, Ajagava.
ধনুর বক্রভাগ ...	কোটিঃ, অটনিঃ, আটনীঃ, ধনুরগ্র।	... Notched extremity of a bow.
ধনুর মধ্যভাগ। ...	লম্ভকঃ, ধনুর্মধ্যং।	... Middle of the bow.
ধনুর ছিলা। ...	মৌর্ব্বীঃ, জ্যা, শিঞ্জিনীঃ, গুণঃ।	... The bow-string.
জ্যাঘাতনিবারক চর্ম্ম।	গোধা, তলা, তলং* জ্যাঘাতবারণং।	... Leathern fence for the arm.
ধনুর্ব্বিদ্যা। ...	শরাভ্যাসঃ, উপাসনং।	Archery.
বাণ তীর। ...	পৃক্ষঃ, বাণঃ, বিশিখঃ, অজিহ্মগঃ, খগঃ, আশুগঃ, কলম্বঃ, মার্গণঃ, শরঃ, পত্রীঃ, রোপঃ, ইষুঃ *।	An arrow.
লৌহময় বাণ। ...	প্রক্ষেড়নঃ, নারাচঃ।	... An iron arrow.
বিষাক্ত বাণ। ...	দিগ্ধঃ, * লিপ্তকঃ *।	... .
ক্ষুদ্র তীর ...	ভিন্দিপালঃ, স্বগঃ।	... A short arrow.
তীরের পালক। ...	পক্ষঃ, বাজঃ, পুঙ্খঃ।	... Feather of an arrow.
প্রক্ষিপ্ত তীর। ...	নিরস্তঃ, প্রহিতবাণঃ।	Shot, as an arrow.
তীর রাখিবার আধার।	তূণঃ (তূণঃ),* পাসঙ্গঃ (উপাসঙ্গঃ, অপাসঙ্গঃ), তূণীরঃ, নিষঙ্গঃ, ইষুধিঃ* তূণীঃ।	... A quiver.
অসি। ...	তরবারি, করবালঃ (করপালঃ), খড়্গঃ, কৃপাণঃ, নিস্ত্রিংশঃ, চন্দ্রহাসঃ, অসিঃ, রিষ্টিঃ, কৌক্ষেয়কঃ মণ্ডলাগ্রঃ ইত্যমরঃ। প্রবালকঃ, ভদ্রাত্মজ, সাষ্টঃ ধারাবিষঃ তরবাজঃ কৃপাণী, ইতিশব্দরত্নাবলী। বিষসন ইতি ত্রিকাণ্ড শেষঃ।	A sword.
অসির মুটা। ...	ৎসরুঃ, খড়্গামুষ্টিঃ।	... A hilt or handle.

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
অসি বাঁধিবার পেটি।	মেখলা, অসিবন্ধনং।	... A sword-knot.
ঢাল।	ফলকঃ, * ফলং, চর্ম্ম *।	A shield.
ঢালের মুট। ...	সংগ্রাহঃ, ফলমুষ্টিঃ।	... The gripe of a shield.
মুগুর।	দ্রুঘণঃ (নঃ) মুদ্গরঃ ঘনঃ।	... A mallet.
লাঠি। ...	ইলিঃ (ইলী),* করপালিকা, যষ্টিঃ।	... A cudgel.
যে লাঠির মাথার দিক মোটা। ...	পরিঘঃ, পরিঘাতনঃ।	... A bludgeon.
বর্শা।	শল্যঃ, * শঙ্কুঃ।	... An iron crow (c.) A club, a lance (w.)
সাঁজোয়া। ...	কঞ্চুকঃ, বারবাণঃ।	... Armour, hawberk
সাঁজোয়ার মধ্যবর্ত্তী পেটি। ...	সারসন।	... The girdle over the coat of mail.
মস্তকাবরক, রণপরিচ্ছদ।	শীর্ষকঃ, শীর্ষণ্যং শিরস্ত্রং।	A helmet,
রণপরিচ্ছদ। ...	তনুত্রং, বর্ম্ম, দংশনং উর-শ্ছদঃ, কঙ্কটকঃ, জাগর, কবচ।	Mail.
ছুরি, ছোরা। ...	ছুত্রীঃ, অসিপুত্রীঃ ছুরিকা, অসিধেনুকা।	A knife, (c.) A dagger.
... ...	প্রাসঃ, কুন্তঃ।	... A bearded dart.
... ...	সূর্ব্বলা, তোমরঃ,	... An iron crow.
গদা ...		... A mace or club (w.)
শক্তি ...	শক্তিকা। (M. W.)	... An iron spear, lance, pike, dart, a sword. (M. W.)
শূল ...	শূলকীলঃ	... A lance.
ত্রিশূল ...	ত্রিশূলং।	... A trident.
কণপ ...	কুণপঃ (ক্ষণপ্তঃ।)	... Spear or lance.
প্রাচীন কামান ...	অয়ঃক্ষণপঃ, শতঘ্নী,	... Ancient cannon.
,, বন্দুক ...	অগ্নিবাণঃ, বাণভুশুণ্ডী (w.)	Ancient pistol A weapon, apparently a kind of fire-arms or rocket (w.)

*These words with asterisks are of both genders, *e.g.*, তলং both feminine and neuter.

Names of Weapons.	Their synonyms.	Their English equivalent.
... ...	কম্পনং	... A kind of weapon (M.W.)
যুদ্ধে ব্যবহার্য্য কুঠার।	ভল্ল, পট্টিশ।	... A battle-axe.
অন্যপ্রকার কুঠারাস্ত্র।	শ্বধিতি, পরশু, পরশ্বধ।	... A different kind of axe.

Besides these there are some whose meanings we have not been able to discover in the dictionaries of either Professor Wilson or Professor M. Williams. We will here name them together with the works in which they occur. We again remind our readers that we have excluded from our list weapons to which miraculous powers are ascribed, weapons which often take the surname of *Brahmastras* and destroy whole legions. Sometimes by their agency a great conflagration is created, at others, thunderstorms ensue, the rains pour forth in torrents, sweeping away the enemies' force from the face of the earth. We would not quarrel with the orthodox readers who may maintain that such things may have been possible by *Yoga* or other occult powers*, but as supernatural things, they must legitimately fall outside the pale of history.

Names of Weapons.	The Books in which they occur.
বিমল ...	মহাভারত, ভীষ্মপর্ব্ব।
সপ্তলা, চামরকষা ইতি ভাষা	শব্দকল্পদ্রুমঃ।
তলত্র ...	মহাভারত, ভীষ্মপর্ব্ব, ৯৩ অধ্যায়।
নখরঃ ...	,, দ্রোণপর্ব্ব, ১৮ ,,
নির্ম্মল ...	,, ১৬৬ ,,
সরল ...	,, ,, ১৬৭ ,,
অর্দ্ধচন্দ্র বাণ ...	,,
খট্টাঙ্গ ...	মার্কণ্ডেয় চণ্ডী।
পাশ, নাগপাশ	,, শ্রীমদ্ভাগবত, ষষ্ঠ স্কন্ধঃ ৮ম অধ্যায়।
চক্র, অলাতচক্র, অঙ্গার চক্র।	মহাভারত, দ্রোণপর্ব্ব, জয়দ্রথবধ পর্ব্বাধ্যায়।
ক্ষুরপ্র ...	,, ,, ১১৬ অধ্যায়।
ঈষাদণ্ড ...	,, ,,
অক্ষ, ...	,, ১২১

The descriptions of these weapons, their mode of preparation the cause of decline of the use of fire-arms in India, etc., would properly form the subject of the next chapter "On the Military Tactics of the Hindus."

BIRESWAR GOSWAMY.

* Such are the weapons that are given by the sage Viswamitra to Rama (Ramayana 1st Canto, 27th chapter.) Many such weapons are described in the Lanka Kanda, etc., etc.

ART. VII.—THE BENGAL TICHBOURNE CASE.

THE present Raj family* of Burdwan was founded by Babu Rai, who, with his brother, Abu Rai, came down from the Punjab and settled in Bengal about the middle of the seventeenth century. The sixth in lineal descent from Babu Rai was Chitra Sen Rai, who first got the title of Raja. He died in 1744, and, as he left no male issue, was succeeded by his cousin Troyluckya Chandra *alias* Tiluck Chand. The latter cut a very remarkable figure, and was created "Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur" by the Emperor of Delhi. He died in 1771, leaving a minor son, named Tej Chandra, to succeed to his vast estates. Tej Chandra had a wife, Nunku Bibi, who bore him Protap Chand. But, though he had a son living, and was himself turned forty, he married a young girl of the name of Kamal Kumari, daughter of one Kashinath. This fortunate man had also a son, who was afterwards known as Poran Babu. Kashinath settled in Burdwan, and, like Nur Jehan's father, soon rose in power and riches. After his death, Tej Chandra, who had already enjoyed half a dozen wives in succession, married, in his old age, Basanta Kumari, Poran Babu's daughter.† Thus Poran, like a skilful actor, dexterously passed from the gay to the grave side of relationship.

Protap's mother having died when he was a mere infant, he was brought up by his grandmother, the Dowager Maharani Bishen Kumari. As usual with sons of rich men bred up by their grandmothers, Protap's education was neglected, and, in point of fact, he learned very little; but nature had given him very strong common sense, "that best and rarest of all senses," as Southey calls it. After he had attained years of discretion, he was styled the "Chota Raja."‡ With all his shortcomings, Protap was sociable,§ and often mixed with gentlemen of this part of Bengal. His most intimate friends were Nabob Babu‖ of

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* For an account of the ancient Raj family to which Bir Singh of Vidya Sundara fame belonged, see *Khitish Vangsavali Charitam*, W. Pertsch's Edition with English translation, Berlin, 1852.

† Napoleon Bonaparte married Josephine, while his brother Louis married the Princess Hortense, her daughter by another husband.

‡ Meeran, the favourite son of Nabob Mir Jaffar, was called the "Chota Nabob." He was a greater villain than Siraj-ud-dowla himself. He died in his twenty-first year, being struck by lightning in his tent on the 2nd July, 1760.

§ Would we could say with the poet that he led "A social, not a dissipated life" But truth compels us to say that he was all but a confirmed rake, and it was not unoften that he was admonished by the Dutch Governor of Chinsura, Mr. Overbeck, for his gaities and lax habits.

‖ His real name was Srinath. He was the handsomest as well as the richest man of his time in the Hooghly District. Jodunath, who was also a man of note, was his younger brother. Srinath's branch of the family has become extinct.

Singhoor, and Ramdhone Babu* of Telinipara.† During his stay at the Chinsurah Rajbati he spent many pleasant hours with Mr. Daniel Antonio Overbeck, the last Dutch Governor of that Settlement.

Protap hated his wily uncle, Poran Babu. Indeed, there was no love lost between them. Finding Poran's influence continually on the increase, he got his old father to execute a deed of gift of all his property in his favour. After that, he took upon himself the whole management, and, be it said to his credit, effected many reforms and improvements. It was at his suggestion that Government framed and passed Regulation VIII of 1819, ‡ more commonly called the *Patni* Regulation. But sociable and business-like as he was, he was unfortunately addicted to "wine and wassail" which got such a firm hold on him that it was little restrained by the strait-laced tenets of his religion. This bad habit did him infinite harm, and at length estranged his doting father from him.

Thus passed twenty-six years of his life, after which there was a sudden change in his mind and mood. He lost his usual hilarity and became pensive and morose. He seldom talked with any body. Except Sham Chand Babu § and the well-known painter, Chinnery, whom he had engaged to paint his portrait, he allowed no one to have the pleasure of his company. This melancholia was followed by an intermittent fever which soon took a very serious turn. At his own request he was taken over to Kulna that he might die on the banks of the holy Ganges. No relative or friend accompanied him, nay, not even one of his wives ‖ was allowed to go with him. Tej Chandra was then at the Kulna Rajbati, but he returned to Burdwan on the very night Protap died.¶ Three or four days after, however, a rumour got abroad that the "Chota Raja" had not died, but had fled from the burning ground. Tej Chandra also heard the rumour, but he did not say yea or nay to it. As Protap had acquired the whole of the Raj estate by virtue of a deed of gift from his father, his two widows brought a civil suit** for recovery of the same. But ultimately the gift was pronounced void, and

* Ramdhone Babu is now represented by Babu Bhogabati Charan Banerjee.

† Among the Hindoos of Calcutta, Protap visited the houses of only two, namely, Gopi Mohan Deb of the Shova Bazar Raj family, and Ram Mohun Roy, the famous Hindu reformer.

‡ See S. B. Choudhari's article on *Pattani or Patni Tenures* in the "Calcutta Review," 1876.

§ Sham Chand was the brother of Maharani Joy Kumari, the elder wife of Tej Chandra.

‖ Pratap had two wives, Peary Kumari and Ananda Kumari.

¶ This was in January 1821, when the *Samachar Durpan* of the day stated, he was aged only twenty-nine years and two months.

** In this suit the Ranees were assisted with money by Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore of Calcutta. Mr. Oakley decided this suit.

thus the property remained, as before, with Maharaja Tej Chandra, the baffled Ranees being merely allowed an inconsiderable monthly sum for their maintenance.

Sometime after, a proposal was made to the old Maharaja to take a son in adoption as he had no natural-born son living. He was at first averse to the proposal, but at last gave in, and the youngest son of Poran Babu, who, like our Krishna, was his eighth child, was duly adopted. This lucky boy was afterwards known as Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur. Tej Chandra died in 1832, and was succeeded by his adopted son. As the latter was then a minor, the estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, but the party really in power was Poran Babu, the father of the young Maharaja.

Fifteen years after Protap's death or disappearance, that is in 1835, a Sannyasi presented himself in Burdwan. He looked with earnest, inquiring eyes into every creek and corner, as if they had been the scenes of his early days. At last, he appeared at the gate of the well-known Golap Bagh. One Gopinath Moira* who had kept a confectioner's shop there for a long time, recognised him as the "Chota Raja." In this he was confirmed by several others. This unpleasant news coming to the ears of Poran Babu, he sent a parcel of sturdy clubsmen who drove the suspicious Sannyasi across the Damudar. A few months after, the same Sannyasi made his appearance at the Bishnupur† Rajbati. The then Raja, Khetter Mohan Singh, soon recognised him as Raja Protip Chand, and treated him in a manner quite becoming his high rank and position. By his advice the so-called Sannyasi proceeded towards Bankura with a view to having an interview with the Magistrate. He reached his destination, but reached it only to be arrested as a vagabond and peace-breaker by the Magistrate, Mr. James Balfour Elliott‡, along with some others who had come to see him§. He was at once sent to jail, where he was incarcerated for nearly eight months,‖ when he was *challaned* to Hooghly for trial, although, as a matter of law, he should

* This man was examined as a witness in the trial which was held in the Sessions Court at Hooghly in 1838.

† Bishnupur preserved its independence during the Mahomedan rule. The Abbé Raynal is lavish in his praise of this country which he describes "as a happy and fortunate spot where liberty and property are held sacred, robbery, either public or private, is never heard of, and beneficence to strangers is practised both by the sovereign and his subjects." History of European Settlements, Vol. II, Book III. Alas! times have since altered, and Bishnupur is now almost a desert.

‡ In 1858, when the Commissioner of Burdwan, Mr. Elliott, pointed out to the late Babu Sanjeeb Chandra Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate, the very spot where he had arrested the *pseudo* Raja as he called him.

§ The excitement in our hero's favour, said a Paper of the day, fanned as it was by the disaffection and hostility subsisting towards the family of Poran Babu, contributed, in no small degree, to render his cause highly popular; but it gave a handle for the institution of a public prosecution against him.

‖ He was detained in custody in the Bankura jail until August 1836.

have been tried at Burdwan. Here his trial commenced in due course before Mr. Harrington, the Sessions Judge. Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Turton,* the well-known barrister of Calcutta, came to defend him, but he was not allowed to utter a single word in his client's favour. The learned counsel then moved the Nizamat Adalut at the metropolis, but his motion was rejected, that court taking the same view as the Hooghly Court. The charge against the accused was that, though his real name was Aluk Shah,† he had collected followers calling himself Raja Protap Chand, and had thereby given occasion for a breach of the public peace. The charge was found to be true, and the accused was sentenced ‡ to simple imprisonment for six months, and was also ordered to enter into a recognizance for Rs. 40,000 to keep the peace for one year after the expiry of the term of imprisonment. The sentence was duly worked out; and the convict was allowed to go at large, but not before he had executed the said recognizance. This was in February 1837§.

The above mischance does not seem to have damped the ardour of our hero and his followers a whit, and, as a matter of fact, his popularity, so far from losing hold, continued to gain ground. The so-called Aluk Shah after his release, went down to Calcutta where he was recognised by most of his former friends and acquaintances as the real Protap Chand. They naturally expressed great sympathy with him and advised him to go to law for recovery of the Raj estate By their advice, backed as it was by counsel's opinion, he brought an ejectment suit‖ in the Supreme Court in respect of three Calcutta Bazars, the well-known Dewan of the General Treasury, Babu Radha Krishna Bysack, supplying the sinews of war.¶ The suit was contested by the Court of Wards on behalf of the minor Maharaja Mahatab Chand; Maharani Basanta Kumari also put in a defence therein. The hearing began in due course. Some respectable persons of Calcutta were examined, and they one and all declared that the plaintiff was really Raja Protap. But this evidence was not thought sufficient by the Court, and it, therefore, became necessary to examine some inhabitants of Burdwan to his identity. Protap Chand offered to go himself to Burdwan; ** but this was no easy matter, as

* Turton was appointed Advocate-General of Bengal upon the retirement of Mr John Pearson in 1839.

† It is a mere *sobriquet*, signifying *Invisible King*.

‡ This sentence was passed on the 4th August, 1836.

§ Alexander Ross was then Deputy-Governor of Bengal. He began his Indian career as an Assistant in 1795 and rose to be a Sadar Judge in 1825.

‖ In this suit the Advocate-General, Mr. C. R. Prinsep Mr. L. Clarke, and Mr. J. F. Leith were counsel for plaintiff.

¶ Protap put up at the splendid Boitakkhana of Babu Bolu Chand, the eldest son of Baboo Radha Krishna. He afterwards removed to a house at Fouzdari Balakhana.

** His petition to the Deputy Governor, however, shows that his object in going to Burdwan was to "personally prosecute his claim before the estab ished

there was every probability of his being roughly handled, if not killed outright, by Puran Babu's myrmidons. So, on the 13th February, 1838, he petitioned the Deputy Governor, Mr. Alexander Ross, * praying that "his Honor would be graciously pleased to grant to him (through the proper channel) some means of safeguard to protect his person and life from any eventual insult or danger during the time he might be obliged to stay at Burdwan."†, On the 5th March following, the Government Secretary, Mr. Frederick James Halliday, ‡ informed him in reply § that his prayer could not be complied with But, nothing daunted, Protap made up his mind to go, and, after making necessary preparations, he started ‖ for Kulna, on his way to the seat of the Raj He embarked at Jagannath Ghât and proceeded up the river, a fleet of thirty or forty boats with numerous servants and followers on board accompanying him, and after a slow journey, reached Kulna on the 13th April 1838.¶ On reaching Kulna he sent up two muktears to Burdwan with a petition to the Magistrate, asking to be allowed to go to that place. But, before they had an opportunity of presenting the petition, they were arrested by the Magistrate, Mr. James Balfour Ogilvie, and at once lodged in jail. He also sent orders to the Daroga of Kulna, Mahaboollah, ** directing him to call upon the *pseudo* Raja to disperse his "rabblement," and, in case of refusal or non-compliance, to arrest him.

On the 20th April, Protap Chand landed on the Pathuria Mahal Ghât, and paraded the place in a *Tonjon*, with due "pomp and circumstance." Mr. Alfred Alexander, the local Padre (missionary), who had been asked by Mr. Ogilvie to watch the movements of the *pseudo* Raja and inform him thereof, gave an account of the matter to the Magistrate ; but his letter, which was probably based upon the report of one of his trusty under-

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judicial tribunal stationed at the place, and in the meanwhile to show himself to his step mother, aunt and wives and other relations, and thereby, if possible, to induce them to persuade the usurper of his property to come to an amicable adjustment with him."

* The Honourable Mr. Ross retired in January 1839 He was very hospitable Bentham was his favourite author.

† Some say that his alleged purpose was to obtain an interview with the Ranis.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Halliday succeeded Mr. Ross Donelly Mangles as Secretary to the Bengal Government in the judicial and revenue departments in 1838.

§ The reply was quite Spartan-like, it was in these words : "The prayer of this petition cannot be complied with."

‖ This was on the 7th March 1838. "Sad was the hour and luckless was the day."

¶ He passed through the districts of 24-Parganas. Hooghly and Nadia, on his way to Kulna, and stayed several days at Santipur, only twelve miles distant from Goari, the birthplace of Kristo Lal Brahmachari, about whom we shall have to say much later on.

** A worthy Daroga indeed, "who could neither read nor write," and was also such a huge heap of flesh that he could neither "walk nor run."

lings, was a little too highly coloured. * On receipt of this letter Mr. Ogilvie sent down his Nazir, Assad Ali, with orders to arrest Protap Chand, Poran Babu at the same time sending a batch of stout clubsmen under Radha Mohan Sircar. Not satisfied with sending his Nazir with such strict orders, the Magistrate† himself, accompanied by his worthy adjutant, Dr. Cheek, the Civil Surgeon, started for Kulna and, taking with him on the way a detachment of native infantry which was then halting at Boinchee, under the command of Captain Little, reached his destination sometime before dawn ‡. At that "still and solemn hour," the Raja and his people were sunk in sleep in the boats but the Magistrate could not brook delay in the execution of what, he in his overzeal, considered to be his duty. Firing commenced, and some innocents were wounded while lying in an unconscious state. § The Raja awoke, and plunging into the river, saved himself from the bullets of the sepoys by his practical moor-hen-

* The Padre's letter runs as follows :—"My dear Sir,—Protap Chand has just gone on board his boat, after parading the whole length of Kulna in a *Tonjohn* with a drawn sword in his own hand, attended by upwards of a hundred swordsmen and double that number of stickmen. The concourse was altogether 6,000 or 8,000. He appeared to be intent on the Rajbarry. But your active Daroga prevented him. The aspect of things, I think, threatens an affray, if he is not checked soon." This letter was written in reply to the one which he had received from Mr. George Nicholas Cheek, the Doctor, on the night of the first of May. The Doctor, it seems, was a tool in the hands of the Magistrate.

† The Magistrate and the Doctor were each armed with a double barrelled pistol, which was given them by Mr. Barlow the Judge of Burdwan. Dr. Cheek, as he himself admitted in his evidence, was once in the artillery.

‡ The *Hurkara* of the 7th May, however, says that the Magistrate arrived with Captain Little and his company in the morning of the 2nd May and gave directions to fire a volley only to check the flight of the impostor and his men on boats. Protap got to the other side where he lay motionless like a corpse. But being discovered by an experienced habildar who had given him a kick, he was arrested. Among the persons who were made prisoners in the boats were Mr. Shaw and two other Europeans, who were lodged in the Burdwan jail. Protap was sent to Hooghly in charge of Little and his company, and was early in the morning of the 6th May delivered over to the Hooghly Magistrate who saw him safely lodged in jail. But the *Englishman*, the *Daily Intelligencer* and the *Calcutta Courier* condemn this hostile tone of the *Hurkara* and lay the whole blame upon the Magistrate. They also say that Shaw was not present at the disturbance, and that he was arrested while he was coming down to the Raja's boats from Mr. Lya l's factory in a *Palki*. So far from stirring up sedition, the main object of his coming to Kulna from Calcutta was to play the pacificator and prevent any breach of the peace on Protap's party.

§ Mr. Ogilvie having considered the presence of Protap to endanger the peace of the district had sought the instructions of the Governor, as to the course he was to pursue ; and he received orders to arrest him, if no other alternative remained for preserving the public tranquility The Magistrate and Captain Little's regiment marched all night, and before daybreak arrived on the bank of the river. As there was not the slightest show of resistance, or even preparation for any on the part of Protap, the order to fire was quite unjustifiable. The Magistrate, it is said, was also accompanied by a number of the mounted soldiery of the *de facto* Raja of Burdwan, who were drawn up on the shore, and the balls which proved so fatal were discharged by them.—*Friend of India*, 17th May

Several persons were wounded of whom three only, to wit, Tara Chand Chakravarti, Sirji Manjee and Gobinda Sing, died of their wounds. The story of about fifty men being killed is entirely false.

like skill in the art of diving. He got to the other side of the river out of harm's way. So did his friend, Raja Nara Hari Chandra of Nadia, and the two passed the rest of the night at a place to the north of Santipur

The firing ceased, when plunder commenced, and after the plunder was over, there were arrests. But a sufficient number not being found on the Raja's boats, it was made up by arrests on some pilgrim-boats which were lying at anchor at a little distance. In this way two hundred and ninety-four persons, * amongst whom were several of the opposite sex, were arrested. The Raja and his friend, Nara Hari Chandra, † were also sought out and added to the number. Protap Chand, instead of being sent up to Burdwan as the others were, was *challaned* to Hooghly for trial His attorney, Mr. William Dalrymple Shaw, also did not escape arrest, although he was not present at the engagement at Kulna. This arrest was made by Mr. Ogilvie himself, while Mr. Shaw was returning from his friend, Mr. Lyall's factory at Pygatchee, three or four *cros* from Kulna, and he had to suffer a good deal for his high-handed and arbitrary proceedings.‡

In the morning of the 6th May, Protap Chand arrived at Hooghly under a Police guard, and was immediately placed in the local jail where he was made to await his trial. Mr. E. A. Samuells§ was then the Magistrate of this District. Before that he had been for some time in charge of the Burdwan Magistracy, where he had heard all about the so-called *pseudo* Raja from Poran Babu. He had already formed his opinion that the claimant could not be the real Raja but a mere Perkin. He had heard from somebody that one Krishna Lal Brahmachari son of Sham Lal Brahmachari of Goari in Nadia, had not been heard of

* Many of them had no more connection with Protap than the man in the moon. Mr. F. C. Smith, Police Superintendent of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, made the investigation.

† They were arrested by the Magistrate on the same day. The other arrests were made the next day, that is, the 2nd May. The *Hurkaru* of the day, which was most hostile to Protap all through remarked :—"If this man should be permitted to go at large and wander about with a parcel of armed followers from the thoughtlessness of the moment, thousands of the people might be induced to join his standard, and thus cause a regular civil commotion." The *Calcutta Courier* slyly observed that "there is a good chance of his closing his eventful career, *an exalted character*."

‡ Mr. Shaw was taken to Burdwan on Friday, and was mewed up 'in durance vile" In this miserable state he remained till the 9th May, when he was released under a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. His caption and detention made a great sensation. Two actions were brought against Mr. Ogilvie in the Supreme Court, one by Mr. Shaw for wrongful confinement, and the other for manslaughter of Tara Chand Chakravarti at Kulna. The latter case came on for hearing before Sir John Peter Grant on the 13th August 1838. The Judge in his charge having expressed it as his opinion, that the fatal firing was purely accidental," the jurors by their foreman, Mr. Cameron, returned a verdict of not guilty. Mr. Shaw's case was tried by the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan, also with the aid of a jury, and resulted in the conviction of the accused who was fined Rs. 2,000.

§ He had been officiating in Hooghly for Mr. Grant since 1835.

for four or five years, and he at once jumped to the conclusion that the pretender was no other than that notorious cheat. He tried all manner of means to prove their identity, and, as a matter of fact, nearly four months were occupied in the procuring of proofs.* At last on the 1st September, the trial commenced,† and the trying officer was Mr. Samuells ‡ himself. The charge was that the accused had suppressed his real name and had falsely, deceitfully and wickedly assumed the name of Raja Protab Chand, the deceased zemindar of Burdwan The trial lasted till the 20th September, in the course of which a large mass of evidence was adduced, and the Magistrate being of opinion that the prosecution had made out a sufficient *primâ facie* case committed the accused to the sessions.§ Mr. James Curtis was then the

* The following letter, which he wrote to Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore of Calcutta, plainly shows that the spirit in which he acted in the matter was not that of an impartial Judge, trying a case on the evidence adduced before him but that of an interested party, bent upon securing a conviction.

"Hooghly, September 4, 1838 My dear Dwarka Nath,—I was disappointed at your non-arrival, as I think you could speak more decidedly than any of the other witnesses to the man's non-identity, but it is not of much consequence I have no objection to make a bargain with you. I will let you off altogether if you will procure me the names of half a dozen good respectable witnesses from Baranagore, who knows him as Krishna Lal. I dare say you could do this through Kali Nath Roy Chowdhury, Mathoora Nath Mukerjee, or any of your own servants. Let me know what you say to this. What a scoundrel that Buddinath Roy is. If I had known his character I would rather have gone without evidence altogether than have had his.

Remember I must have the evidence from Baranagore within a week or so. Persuade Mathoora Nath also to come. His *hormut* and *ijjut* shall be *nureck sworut se bahal*.

Yours truly,
E. A. SAMUELLS"

It is true, however, that as the law then stood, the Magistrate in a case of *public* prosecution was competent to search for and produce all the evidence which he might deem requisite; but in this instance Mr. Samuells overdid the law, defective as it was. He went to the length not only of discovering evidence but also of inventing it. The "Buddinath Roy" spoken of above, is no less a personage than Raja Baidyanath of Calcutta, and he is abused so very grossly because he stated what he knew to be true, and not what the biassed Magistrate had expected from him.

† On this occasion Protap was permitted to be defended by Counsel, and, as a matter of fact, was defended by Messrs. Leith and Morton Mr. Turton being unwell at the time could not hold a brief for him. The prosecution was conducted by Mr. M A Bignell, the Superintendent of Legal Affairs for Government

‡ His pay as acting Magistrate was only Rs 700 per mensem. He was made *pucca* in September 1838.

§ While Protap was a denizen of the local jail awaiting his trial before the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, a contemporary thus writes of him and his claims: "His ambitious claims, though certainly by no means established, are not yet absolutely proved to be built upon sand, and after all, in great attempts 'tis glorious even to fail!'" Again he says, "If the whole of Bengal Proper were to be brought to the roll, we suspect the show of hands would be incontestably in favour of our hero." He thus describes him: "In person the subject of our sketch is of a tall and well-proportioned figure: His countenance is expressive; the black eye has a somewhat pensive and melancholy gaze, the nose is aquiline, the features regular, and his hair is unusually worn long and flowing behind. When well-dressed, our hero certainly possesses something of an air *distingue*, and has no reason at all to be ashamed of his external *tout ensemble*." *Calcutta*

Sessions Judge. The trial had been fixed for the 20th of November, but it actually began on the day previous. The same Counsel who had conducted the prosecution and the defence before the Magistrate were also Counsel on the same sides in the trial before the Sessions Judge. Monsaram Sircar, whose name is still held in abhorrence for ministerial misconduct, was Dewan* to the Judge. His influence was very great, indeed, even greater than that of the Judge himself. After the preliminaries had been gone through, the charges were read out to the prisoner. They were as follows:—1. That the accused, whose real name was Aluk Shah *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, had practised imposition by assuming the name and title of Maharaja Protap Chand, the late zemindar of Burdwan. 2. That under the said false pretence he had cheated Radha Krishna Bysack, Dewan of the Government Treasury, out of his money. 3. That he had formed an unlawful assembly at Kulna on the 2nd May 1838.

The prisoner pleaded *not guilty*. As he was unwell, he was allowed a chair during the trial of his case.

The Sessions Judge had a mind to try the case with a special jury, but the gentlemen summoned with the exception of Babu Annada Prosad Banerjee of Telinipara, having for reasons given by them refused to act, he was obliged to call in the aid of the Mahomedan Law Officer of the Zillah, Moulvi Syed Ahmed.

The first day was taken up in arranging the preliminaries, and the witnesses were commenced to be examined on the 20th November. Evidence was given under four heads:—

1. As to the identity of the prisoner with Maharaja Protap Chand. 2. As to Protap's death. 3. As to the prisoner being Krishna Lal Brahmachari of Goari. 4. About the alleged unlawful assembly at Kulna.

The *onus* was upon the Government to prove that the prisoner was not the man he represented himself to be, and the Government prosecutor, Mr. Bignell, admitted it in so many words. Seventy witnesses were examined on the side of the prosecution, most of whom were not men of much consequence. The most important witnesses who deposed on the question of identity were Mr. Gregory Herkclots, the Fiscal of Chinsura, Mr. Henry Toby Prinsep, the Government Secretary, Mr. C. Troyer, the Collector, Mr. John Marshall, the Brevet Major, and two well-known natives of Calcutta, namely, Babu Dwarkanath Tagore

Monthly Journal, Part I, 1838; *Hurkara*, pp. 97-100. The late Babu Gour Das Bysack who had seen the claimant, Protap, many times and conversed with him, told us that his was a noble and grand appearance, considerably resembling Lord Mayo, the Governor-General. But opinions differ, some declaring that the true Simon Pure, compared with his present representative, was Hyperion to a Satyr, or, if there was aught of vague resemblance, that "Esaw's hands suit ill with Jacob's voice."

* Now called Sheristadar.

and Babu Radha Krishna Bysack. Mr. James Pattle, a member of the Revenue Board, Mr John Ross Hutchinson,* a Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalut, Mr. D. A. Overbeck, the late Dutch Governor of Chinsura, and the Rev. W. J. Deere of Krishnagar had been examined before the Magistrate, but they were not produced before the Judge, although the Magistrate had stated that every witness called for the prosecution in his Court would, as a matter of course, be produced before the Sessions Court. Mr. Overbeck and the Rev. Mr. Deere were, however, examined on the side of the defence. Besides the *spoken* evidence of witnesses, there was also a peculiar kind of evidence, which, though mute, spoke with a hundred tongues, and was of very great importance to the Judge in arriving at the real truth :—It was the life-like portrait of Protap, as painted by the well-known painter, Chinnery, a friend of the Raja. This portrait was brought down from the Burdwan palace, and was kept in a room adjoining the hall in which the trial took place. It was, as the *Hurkará* of the 5th September stated, "a rather hostile witness."

Mr. Herkclots said : "My impression is that the prisoner is not Protap, whose features I have no precise recollection of." Thus, from his own words the evidence of this witness is not worth much, if anything at all. Mr. Prinsep stated : "I should say that the prisoner is not Protap Chand. He appears much taller than Protap Chand." He also stated that in June or July 1837, he had an interview with the prisoner at his office, when the latter mistook Pattle for him, and could not point out Hutchinson who was present in the room. He, however, admitted that General Allard told him that he had seen the prisoner travelling about Lahore as a *fakir* and that he believed him to be what he gave out he really was, namely, a Bengal Raja. On seeing the portrait referred to above, Mr. Prinsep said that there was no resemblance between it and the prisoner. The witness, Mr. Troyer, was Collector of Burdwan from 1808 until about 1817, and was a personal friend of Protab Chand with whom he not unoften played chess. He said that the picture which he saw in the Magistrate's Court was a striking likeless of Protap, and he gave his emphatic denial to the prisoner being Protap by observing that "If the prisoner were to speak to me till eternity he would never be able to convince me that he is Protap Chand." However he admitted that Dr. Halliday, who was the family Surgeon of Protap, and who had operated on a large boil on his thigh had told him that the prisoner was the Raja. Mr. Marshall stated : "I believe the prisoner to be the person I used to meet at Chinsura upwards of twenty years ago, under the name of 'the

* He was gazetted in 1836, to act ask Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalut He died on the 2nd September 1838. The *Calcutta Month'y Journal*, Part I, 1838

young Raja of Burdwan' I must have seen him frequently at Mr. Overbeck's when he was Governor of Chinsura, and that was in the years 1818, 1819 and 1820. The Raja was decidedly tall for a native." Babu Dwarkanath Tagore said that if he knew that the prisoner was the real Raja, he would gladly give him five lakhs of rupees out of his pocket. He also stated that Gopi Mohan Deb, who was one of the two natives whom Protap would visit at their house, refused to see the prisoner. Babu Radha Krishna Bysack having assisted the prisoner with funds, his evidence might be objected to on the score of interest. But there is no doubt that he was a very respectable man and that his veracity could not be impeached except on very strong grounds which, however, did not exist in the case. He stated that, on being assured by Dr. Halliday of the identity of the prisoner with Protap Chand, he advanced him money; that General Allard also told him that he, the prisoner, was the son of the Burdwan Raja; that relying on the words of the General, Gunga Prosad Ghose also advanced money as did Dr. Jackson; that his own belief was that the prisoner was in reality what he gave himself out to be.

As the evidence for the prosecution stood, it did not satisfactorily prove that the prisoner was not Protap Chand, nor did it conclusively show that he was so. But when this evidence is coupled with the other evidence adduced in the case, as well as the surrounding circumstances, there remains not a shadow of doubt as to his identity with Raja Protap Chand.

The evidence adduced on the side of the defence consisted of the testimony of forty five witnesses. Most of these witnesses were of the ordinary run, but there were some whose integrity and impartiality could not be questioned. They were Mr. Robert Scott, Surgeon, 37th Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Daniel Antoneo Overbeck,* the late Dutch Governor of Chinsura, Dr. Leotard, the indigo planter, David Hare,† the veteran educationist, and Raja Khetter Mohan Sing of Bishenpur. Dr. Scott said: "I was officiating surgeon at Burdwan from 1815 to the end of 1817. I knew the prisoner as the young Raja. He spoke and wrote English, but not very well. I was very intimate with him. I attended him in 1817, when he had an ulcer in the inside of his right cheek. The mark of the ulcer is still seen in the prisoner's cheek, and the tooth opposite to it is gone. The Raja had lost his tooth when I attended him. The prisoner's face is darker than Protap's, but the body is

* Mr Overbeck survived until the 24th September 1840.

† David Hare came to Bengal in 1800, and died of cholera on 1st June 1842. He was the father of "Native Education," and his whole life was devoted to one generous end, which, as the poet truly says, w s

"To bless the Hindu mind with British love,
And Truth's and Nature's faded lights restore."

similar. The Raja used to perspire even in cold weather; the prisoner is troubled with the like complaint. The prisoner is thinner than the young Raja; he, I have no doubt, is Protap Chand." Mr. Overbeck said: "I can recoginse the prisoner to be Raja Protap. I have traced the contour of the prisoner's face in the picture, which was shown as the picture of Raja Protap Chand. I have traced all the marks which Protap had on his body, and in my close examination of the prisoner in the presence of the Counsel for the prosecution and the defence, he has answered every question which I put to him of days past satisfactorily and without any hesitation; consequently, to the best of my belief the prisoner is Raja Protap Chand." Mr. Overbeck went on to state: "Shortly after Protap's alleged death, I heard that he had absconded and was alive. I made enquiries and learnt that at sunset he took a bowl of broth; after which he was taken out in a *palkee* into a tent near the river, surrounded by *kunnets* and attended by his servants. At night, he was suddenly missed. Search was made for him, but to no purpose. Raja Tej Chandra was informed that his son was *glorified*. He ordered his funeral ceremony, and a trunk, filled with shells, was burnt on the pyre, and the ashes were collected and carried to Ambica. The report was, I believe, very general. I have been fifty-two years in India." The *Hurkara* of the 2nd January 1839, stated that on the day (*i.e.* 27th December) on which Mr. Overbeck gave his evidence, the Court compound and the entrance room were quite thronged by the populace; and that the crowd, as the *pseudo* Raja left the Court to get into his *palkee*, thrice shouted *Jaya Dhunnah Raja Protap Chand*. Mr. David Hare said: "I was acquainted with Raja Protap I saw him six or seven times at his house at Chowringhee. I think the prisoner resembles the Raja Protap Chand very much. I have seen the picture in the room adjoining the Magistrate's Court. I examined him very minutely with it, and I traced a strong resemblance between the nose and eyes of the prisoner with those in the picture Then from prisoner's reply to certain questions which I put to him at the jail, I verily believed him to be Raja Protap Chand of Burdwan." At the conclusion of his deposition, Mr. Hare spoke of a peculiarity in the prisoner's nose which he did not find in the nose of any other person, that is, that it perspired. The Bishenpur Raja, Khetter Mohan Sing, said: "The prisoner is certainly and undoubtedly Raja Protap Chand. About three years ago I sheltered him at my house at Bishenpur for three months. The Bankura Magistrate, Mr. Elliott, abused me for succouring the prisoner, whom he termed an impostor and a vagabond, and he also threatened me with imprisonment in the event of my persisting in the same course. I have sold my zamindari to Raja Tej Chandra." Besides the

witnesses already examined on the side of the defence as to identity, the prisoner had a mind to examine Poorsun Chand Baboo, Protap's maternal uncle, who all on a sudden presented himself in Court on the 15th January, but his legal advisers having advised him to the contrary, his evidence was not taken. They said that the evidence already adduced was quite sufficient for the purposes of the present trial, and that, as it was not a civil case, stronger evidence as to identity was not at all necessary. In this advice they were not far wrong, for as the evidence stood, it was quite sufficient to establish the identity of the prisoner with Protap. If, however, stronger evidence was thought necessary, it was quite within the power of the Court to take it. But, as a matter of fact, the best evidence that was available in the case was withheld. The way to test the prisoner truly was to have him seen and examined, of course, so far as Hindu manners and customs would allow, by Protap's wives and aunts, all of whom were alive, and also to examine him by some artificial means which were not wanting in the Rajbati. But neither of these courses was adopted. The Ranis of Protap Chand were naturally very anxious to have a look at the prisoner, but they were not allowed to satisfy their curiosity. Indeed, when it became known that the younger Rani on being convinced, by the anecdotes which he related of his sweet dalliance with his wives in the sleeping chamber, of the identity of the prisoner with Protap Chand, was anxious to see and have him, some of her confidentes were removed from the palace and a double guard placed on it to prevent all egress and ingress. Protap's paternal aunt, Rani Tota Kumari, who along with the late Dowager Moharani had brought him up from his infancy, was also very anxious to see the prisoner; so was Protap's maternal aunt, Bibi Badami. But none of these ladies was allowed to have their wish gratified. Mr. Curtis, the Judge, on being pressed by the Counsel for the defence to give these ladies an opportunity of seeing and examining the prisoner, observed that he did not think Rani Tota Kumari would ever come to his Court and give evidence in the cause, and that the evidence of Protap's wives would not be legally admissible as wife and husband are, in the eye of law, one and the same. But was Rani Tota Kumari really unwilling to come? We trow not. As for the objection raised by the Judge to the legal advisibility of the evidence of Protap's wives, it could stand good only where the relationship of husband and wife was not disputed; whereas in the present case that was the very thing which was the subject of the inquiry. Thus, the Judge's objection had no force at all; indeed, it involved the logical fallacy of *petitio principii*, or begging the question. At length, to make matters all square and perfect, *subpœnas* were issued to the elder Rani and the aunts of Protap, in reply

to which a petition was put in as coming from them saying that being convinced of the fact of Protap's death and of the prisoner being an impostor they did not think that their evidence would be of any avail to the latter, and they accordingly declined to attend. We doubt very much if the ladies aforesaid knew of the *subpœnas* or of the petition purporting to have come from them, But even supposing that the petition did really come from them, was it not incumbent on the Judge, for the ends of justice, more especially when the matter was so earnestly pressed by the defence, to take their evidence and place the whole thing beyond the domain of doubt? The *Hurkara* of the 21st May properly remarked: "Suspicions, well or ill-founded matters not, but suspicions *are* afloat throughout Burdwan, Bancoorah, and Murshidabad, that Poran Babu is at the bottom of this attempt on Protap Chand's life, and it is absolutely necessary for the peace and quietness of the country, that the truth or falsehood of the impression should be placed beyond all doubt." When such was the state of the public feeling, and that this was so might be easily inferred from the fact that a Journal which was notoriously hostile to the prisoner all through, gave such emphatic expression to it, was it not necessary, if not for any thing else, at least for the good name of British justice against which there were "curses, not loud but deep," to make every possible inquiry into the fact whether the prisoner was really Protap or a mere pretender? But it does not appear that the Judge who tried the case was actuated by any such noble motive, and so far from trying all possible means to get at the truth, he in a manner stifled inquiry. But supposing for the sake of argument that there was some difficulty in taking the evidence of the ladies, what difficulty was there in examining Poran Babu who was so well competent to speak to the fact. And is it not very strange that Poran Babu himself, who did not spare means or money to put down the prisoner if not to polish him off the world, did not of his own accord come forward to say on oath that he was not the man he represented himself to be but a false pretender. Again, there were some old servants of Tej Chandra and Protap Chand living at the time, and they too were not called to the witness-box. Protap had also some fast friends in this part of the country, conspicuous amongst whom were Sree Nath Babu *alias* Nabob Babu of Singhoor, and Ramdhone Babu of the Telinipara zemindar family. But no attempt would seem to have been made to take their evidence. Both of them were then residing within the jurisdiction of the Judge of Hooghly, and nothing was therefore easier for him to produce them in his Court, if he was so minded. But for some reason or other, neither of them was called to the witness-box. The

mere fact that the prisoner could have examined them but did not do so, was not sufficient for the Government that was conducting the prosecution to have dispensed with their evidence. It should not have left any stone unturned to have the matter thoroughly sifted in order to find out the truth. Thus, it is quite clear that the best evidence that was available in the case was kept back without any very good reason being assigned for its non-production. Again, the prisoner had stated that there were in the palace a *Pandan* (betel-holder) and a hand-box so ingeniously made as to baffle the skill of all but the initiated to open them. But neither the *Pandan* nor the hand-box was produced, and as there was nothing to show that they were not forthcoming, or that there were no such things in the Rajbati, their non-production could only be accounted for on the supposition that had they been produced they would have established the prisoner's statement and gone a long way in proving his identity with Protap Chand. Besides the evidence that was produced and the evidence that was kept back, there were many significant circumstances which served to raise a strong presumption, amounting almost to a moral certainty, that the prisoner was the real man and not a counterfeit. We have already observed that many respectable persons, including some Europeans, advanced him large sums of money. Babu Radha Krishna Bysack,* the Dewan of the Treasury, alone lent him more than a lakh, and the amounts advanced by other gentlemen were also not inconsiderable. Now, while these gentlemen assisted him with the sinews of war, there were several Rajas who, anxious as they were to see him restored to his ancestral Raj, in a manner fought for him. The Raja of Nadia Nara Hari Chandra, and the Bishenpur Raja Khetter Mohan, suffered much for him. As for the Raja of Pachete (Panchakote), he actually broke out into open revolt and attacked and took possession of a factory of Dr. Cheek; and the matter at last became so very serious that Mr. Halkett, the Magistrate of Bankura, found it necessary to call in the military to put him down. If these very respectable personages, whose position as the recognised nobility of the land dated from very remote antiquity, had entertained any the least doubt as to the identity of the prisoner with their brother Raja of Burdwan, would they have done and suffered so much for him. This circumstance, significant as any circumstance could be, was alone sufficient to show that it was very probable,

* Attempts were made on the part of Poran Babu to induce Babu Radha Krishna to abandon his protége to his fate. At first, Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore was deputed to him for the purpose, but he failing, Babu Mathura Nath Mullick of Ramkrishnapur, was asked to try the same thing. Very strong temptation was laid before Radha Krishna, but he put it aside, and went on assisting the man until he found that the matter was quite hopeless and beyond human power.

if not morally certain, that the prisoner was the real Simon Pure, and not a false pretender. Unfortunately for the cause of truth and justice, all these circumstances were ignored by the Judge, nay, not even so much as taken notice of. But not only the gentry and the nobility of the land espoused the cause of the prisoner and did their best to see him restored, the general body of the people took great interest in his welfare. Both while he was on his way to Court and back during the trial at Hooghly, the commoners never failed to set up cries of *Jaya Raja Protap Chand.* This peculiar kind of demonstration, spontaneous as it perfectly was, had its origin in the conviction that the prisoner was the real Raja Protap Chand and not a false pretender.* And this conviction would seem not to have been confined to the men, but extended to the women, who wished in their hearts to see him restored to the *Guddee* at Burdwan. It is said that while on his way to Kulna wherever he made a halt, the old matrons of the place would come to the river side, and standing at a respectful distance, feelingly exclaim, "Go child, go to thy home, sweet home, after suffering the pain of long exile, and reign in peace in thy own Raj!" This general outburst of love and affection in favour of the prisoner afforded a very strong moral proof in support of the truth of his claim, but such was the spirit of the times that the voice of the people was given the go-by and the voice of the devil prevailed. Then, again, the prisoner had described some papers and documents bearing his signature, which used to be kept under lock and key in the Rajbati. It was not said that there were no such papers or documents existing, and yet none of them was produced to show whether the signature therein tallied with the signature of the prisoner or not. But this was a small matter compared with the other circumstances we have mentioned before,—circumstances which, to use the words of the greatest of modern poets, "lead directly to the door of truth." One word more about the portrait referred to above, and we shall have done with this part of the case. To repeat the words of the *Hurkara* it was "a rather hostile witness." True it is, Mr. Prinsep, the Government Secretary, said that there was no resemblance between it and the prisoner; but this statement, it is to be observed, was not made after due comparison, else he would have agreed with Mr. Overbeck and Mr. Hare who took great pains in making the comparison, and gave it out as the result of their close examina-

* Some old people still believe that the ostensible was the real Raja. Indeed, his case stands on a much better footing than that of Perkin Warbeck who is believed by some great historians as the veritable Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, even though Warbeck himself confessed his imposture on the scaffold. But opinions differ—*quot homines, tot sententiae.*

tion that there was a strong resemblance between the two. In fact, the portrait was a damaging piece of evidence, and spoke, as we have already said, with a hundred tongues testifying to the truth of the prisoner's claim.

On the second head, the officials of the Rajbati, who were quite under the control of Poran Babu, were examined. Of course, they gave a story in support of the prosecution, but their evidence was not worth much, if anything. Though they were very large in number, the weight of their testimony was very small. Surely, evidence is not to be *numbered* but to be *weighed*. But the credulous Judge, overlooking this most important rule of the law of evidence, preferred *number* to *weight*, and held upon the evidence of those witnesses that Protap's death had been established beyond doubt. There were, however, very strong circumstances which went dead against such a finding, and yet strange to say, they were not even taken notice of. Protab Chand had two wives living, and there was also his father present at Kulna at the time. None of them did him the last funeral service; but the purohit, Ghasiram (since dead), according to the witnesses, gave "the lighted torch to his face". This was quite contrary not only to well-established practice but also to Hindoo shastras; and if Maharaja Tej Chandra had been fully convinced of the death of his son he would not have allowed such a thing to be done, supposing that it was done at all. Our impression is that what Mr. Overbeck stated in his deposition before the Judge was the true state of affairs. A few days after the alleged death of Protap there was a rumour, that "dispenser of popular favour," that he had fled from the burning ground and was still alive. This report, as Mr. Overbeck said, was very general, and spread like wild fire from one end of the country to the other. It cannot be denied that history furnishes only very few instances of such report spreading and gaining ground in cases of real death. This report, so far from fading away in course of time, received considerable strength from the ever-increasing number of its believers. In fact, it was seldom, if ever, disbelieved by anybody. Tej Chandra, when he was asked to take a son in adoption, long hesitated to take any such course, evidently in the belief that his son was not dead but might return home. It was after very strong inducements, which were brought to bear upon him by his favourite wives, Kamul Kumari and Basanta Kumari, that he at last consented to adopt Poran Babu's infant son. If Tej Chandra had not been enfeebled by old age nor had been under the sweet but none the less coercive control of his young wives, this adoption would most probably have never taken place. Again, if Protap's death had really taken place, or had been placed beyond all reasonable doubt, his *shrad* ceremony would have

been performed in the usual way. His wives had the preferential right to it, and failing them, his father was entitled to perform it. But in this case, although both the wife and the father were living and were fully competent to perform the ceremony, strange to say, neither of them did it but that this all important duty, upon which rest the future happiness and misery of a Hindoo in the world to come, was performed by the purohit, Ghasiram. This circumstance, coupled with the other circumstances we have taken notice of before, gives rise to a host of doubts and suspicions as to the truth of Protap's death. In fact, his alleged demise at Kulna is a mystery which has never been cleared up and never will be. The probability is that, by some unusual method, of which he was a master, he feigned death, and thus effected his escape, as he said, from the funeral pile at Kulna. Such feigning of death is not improbable in itself, and is quite possible, as is proved by the well-known case of Colonel Townsend, related by Dr. George Cheyne *

As to the cause of his having adopted such unusual means of escape, and abandoned not only kith and kin but such large estates, the prisoner stated that in an unguarded moment he had committed a great sin,† which lay like a mill stone upon his conscience, and that, being advised by pandits and astrologers that it could only be expiated by death, or by remaining *incognito* for fourteen years, he struck in with the latter condition and effected his flight from Kulna.‡ In this way he had travelled over many countries, from Chittagong on the one side to the Punjab on the other. He stayed in Kashmir for six years, where he became acquainted with General Allard.§ At Delhi he was recognised by Mr. Ramsay. After the stated term of fourteen years had thus expired, he returned to Bengal, and was arrested at Bankura by Mr. Elliott. It was at that time that the invaluable Diary which he had regularly kept during his travels was lost He stated all these facts in Court; and then concluded by saying that if he had really died, he would certainly have

* See T. H. Tanner's Practice of Medicine, vol. I.

† It was not generally known what the nature of that great sin was, but the rumour was that he had slipped into one of his step-mothers, most probably Basanta Kumari. Eodipus's offence was certainly of a graver character, but it was purely accidental, whereas Protap's offence, though not equally grave, had no such palliating circumstance.

‡ While admitting that certain ceremonies were performed, he declared that his tomb was a cenotoph, that his illness and death were feigned, that the officiating Priest (since defunct) who pretended to give him the *extreme unction*, was in league with him in the deceit, and aided him in his escape in the darkness of the night.

§ Allard was one of the foreign Generals in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Sing. He was in high favour with his royal master, who was himself a first-rate general. Ranjit's other foreign Generals were Ventura, Avitable and Court. Allard assured Babu Radha Krishna Bysak and others that he had seen Protap Chand travelling about Lahore as a fakir.

made some arrangements for his vast estates, either by a Will or by a deed of gift, which there was ample time for making; as he had lain sick for several days.

On the third head, several witnesses were examined. As most of them had been bought over by Poran Babu, who, to use a native phrase, spent money like water, they supported the prosecution. But there were a few others against whose testimony nothing could be said. Of these witnesses the most respectable and important was the Rev. William James Deere of Krishnagar. He had known Krishna Lal Brahmachari for a pretty long time, and his evidence on the point was, therefore, entitled to very great weight. He said: "I cannot say decidedly whether the prisoner is Krishna Lal or not Krishna's nose pointed *upwards*, and the prisoner's *downwards*. I heard in 1821 bazar reports that Protap Chand left his country to go to Runjit Sing to form a conspiracy against the British Government." At the conclusion of his evidence he stated that "to the best of my recollection the prisoner is not Krishna Lal, the latter was much fairer."

After a careful consideration of the whole evidence and the surrounding circumstances the Mahomedan Law Officer gave his opinion that the prisoner's identity with Krishna Lal Brahmachari was not established. The Judge seems to have agreed with him in the main, but he observed, "circumstances considered, I look upon the proofs as being on the whole satisfactory." However, he went on to say that "the matter of the identity was of no importance, seeing that the death and cremation of Raja Protap Chand had been firmly established." Strange, very strange indeed, that a Judge who had received proper legal training and had long been administering justice in the name of Great Britain, where justice of all others is so very highly revered, should have considered the very point which was the principal issue in the case as a "matter of no importance."

As regards the fourth and last count no evidence had been taken by the Magistrate, and the Judge, too, expressed an opinion that the matter of the unlawful assembly was not material. And yet, as if to make the record complete in every respect, some evidence was taken. Nazir Assad Ali, and Daroga Mohaboollah were the principal witnesses. They stated many things thereby rendering their testimony open to the charge of *proving too much*. As for the chowkidars of Kulna, they flatly denied that there was any unlawful assembly. The Judge, however, held that the charge was substantially established, though he admitted that there was "no proof of an affray, or actual breach of the peace." After the arguments had been read out, for the Counsel on both sides did not argue the case *orally* but submitted *written* arguments, the Judge and the Mahomedan

Law Officer differed in opinion, the latter holding that it was not proved who the prisoner really was, and so he could not be punished for having assumed the name of Protap Chand, and the former holding the other way. According to the law then in force, in case of difference the Judge was not competent to pass sentence, so he referred the matter to the Nizamat Adalut, stating, at the same time, that all the charges except one had been brought home to the prisoner, and recommending that he might be sentenced to imprisonment at least for three years, if not five.*

On the reference of the Sessions Judge being placed before the Nizamat Judges, Messrs. W. Braddon and C. Tucker, so late as the 13th June, they found themselves in a difficulty from which they saw no means of escape. They could not convict the prisoner on the ground of his having caused an unlawful assembly inasmuch as the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Ryan,† in the case brought by Mr. Shaw against the Magistrate, Mr. Ogilvie, had given it as his opinion that "there was no disturbance whatever when the affray took place, nor had there been any for a considerable time before the events took place." While the Judges were in this pitiable plight, the Kazi attached to the Court came to their rescue. He said that the accused might be punished for having, for his own benefit, assumed and used the name of another. Thus fortified with the *fatwa*‡ of this oracle of the Mahomedan law, they ordered the defendant, Aluk Shah, *alias* Protap Chand *alias* Krishna Lal Brahmachari, to be fined Rs. 1,000 for having falsely and fraudulently assumed the name of the late Raja Protap Chand, and, in default, to undergo imprisonment for six months. As regards the other charges they entirely acquitted him thereof.

After the order had been passed, the aggrieved party presented a petition for retrial, mainly on the ground that the petitioner had not had anything like a fair, complete and satisfactory trial regarding the question of identity; and that further evidence as to his identity with Protap Chand, which circumstances beyond his control had prevented him from adducing at the time of trial, might be taken and final order made. This petition was, as a

* The proceedings of the Sessions Court were sent up to the Sadar Nizamat under a letter dated the 23rd January 1839.

† Ryan was Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court for seven years before he became its Chief Justice in 1833.

‡ The *fatwa* ran in these words or to the following effect: "False personation for one's own advantage is an offence under the Mahomedan law; and although no specific punishment is laid down for such offence, it is discretionary with the Hakim to award what punishment he thinks fit to inflict, with a view to restrain the offender." The very wording of the *fatwa* gives ample ground for thinking that such false personation was no offence under the Mahomedan law, for an offence without any punishment being prescribed for its commission would, in reality, be no offence at all.

matter of course, heard by the same Judges, Messrs. Braddon and Tucker, on the 1st July, when it was rejected, the Judges being of opinion that the said evidence not having been produced before, could not be taken now, more especially as the death and cremation of Raja Protap Chand had been established by satisfactory evidence. After this order was passed, another petition was presented to the same Court on the 18th July, asking the Court to cite the authority on which the *fatwa* of the Law Officer, declaring that false personation for one's own advantage was an offence under the Mahomedan law, was based ; and also to mention the Circular Order or Regulation under which the proceedings in the case were referred to the Sadar Nizamat by the Judge of Hooghly, and the petitioner fined by the Nizamat Adalut. Couched as it was in improper language, this petition shared the same fate with the last. The Judges (Messrs. Braddon and Tucker) in rejecting it on the 19th July said that the proceedings in the case having been finally closed by the rejection of the petition for retrial, which, by the by, did not contain the said objection on the score of mistake in law, they could not be reopened ; and they concluded by observing "that as they had judicially pronounced the petitioner not to be the Maharajah Protap Chand, they could not in future receive any petition or application from him under that name and title." This order gave a death-blow to the cause of the claimant, inasmuch as it closed the doors of the Civil Courts against him at once and for ever. But, though he was thus cut off from what may have been really his own, the general public sympathised with him, and condemned, in very strong terms, the decisions of the Company's Judges. Thus defeated, the claimant gave up all hopes of recovering his property. He continued to reside in Calcutta until the breaking out of the First Sikh War, when the vigilant eye of Government being again fixed upon him, he fled to the French Settlement of Chandernagore. After remaining there for some years, he passed over to Serampore, which had not then come under British rule. Here he stayed for nearly six years, and such was the force of his moral and intellectual powers, that he was regarded as one far above ordinary humanity. In fact, the women in the neighbourhood looked upon him as a divinity, and identified him with Gauranga Deva.* In this way he set himself up for a religious reformer, and many eagerly took *mantras* from him, acknowledging him as their *guru*, or spiritual guide. It is said that now-a-days his followers number more than the Puritan sect of Brahmos. It is not clear what the precise nature of his faith was, but it appears that, from having been a Hindoo, he afterwards adopted Buddhism with some modifications.

* The well-known founder of Vaisnavism in Bengal. He flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Eight or ten months before his death, he had returned to Calcutta and stationed himself at the subarban village of Baranagore.* The *Harkaru* of the day stated that the *pseudo* Raja tried to lord it over the zemindar of that place; but the latter soon collected a picked band of clubmen and made his Rajaship decamp. The late Babu Gour Das Bysack, who knew the man well, has informed us that during the Sepoy Mutiny he was confined for some time in Fort William, and that after he was released he lived in complete obscurity,

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot."

He was sociable in his manners and found much pleasure in talking and conversing† with the gentlemen of the village. He died unknown and unwept towards the close of 1857 or in the beginning of 1858. Although, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, he failed to receive justice at the hands of the most enlightened Government in the world, there is no doubt that he was a very extraordinary man and has left a name which generations after generations "will not willingly let die."

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

* Baranagore (more correctly Barâhanagore) had its name from the fact of the Company's servants having been in the habit of slaying *boars* and hogs there. The famous Tyrolese Jesuit, Tieffenthaler, says that this place was famous for its *baftah* cloth; and Price, in his *Observations*, observes that the cloth manufactories there determined Charnock to choose Calcutta as the site for his new settlement. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol I, p. 379, note. From its having been the resort of bad women, Baranagore was called by the early English travellers the "Paphos of Calcutta."

† Besides Hindustani and Bengali, our hero was conversant with the Persian and understood a little of English.

ART. VIII.—TRAVANCORE AND ITS LAND TENURES.

ADMINISTRATIVE Officers in the Madras Presidency fight shy, as a rule, of the complex and perplexing tenurial customs and usages of the British District of Malabar, and a very superficial examination of these customs and usages is sufficient to explain this bashfulness. The question of introducing a Permanent Land Settlement into the district has now been engaging the attention of the Madras Government for several years, but though more than one elaborate scheme has been drawn up by more than one Officer who might be safely described as an expert, it is said that the Madras Government has got very little forrader with its plans of Settlement than when it first proposed to work them out, a decade ago. A report has been circulated for some time past to the effect that orders have at length been issued relative to the Settlement of garden lands in Malabar, but it does not concern our immediate purpose to linger on this question, interesting as it certainly is. We merely propose in the present paper to give a brief and succinct account of the Land Tenures of the Travancore State, being tempted to do so by the view, recently urged in some quarters, that the agrarian problem of Malabar will never be satisfactorily solved unless the Travancore system of tenure is copied. It is necessary to state that the chief defect in Malabar tenure is that it fails to hold the balance evenly between the *jenmi* (landlord) and the *kudiyan* (tenant). It is a source of various forms of tyranny and oppression, which judge-made laws and well-intentioned Government orders have alike failed to eradicate. It leaves too much power in the hands of the landlord and enables him to oppress his tenantry in a hundred different ways, not the least intolerable of which are the evictions locally known as *melcharths* or second mortgages. This system of eviction deserves to be briefly explained before we proceed to the treatment of our subject proper. A tenant takes a piece of land on lease for 12 years, and begins to improve it (if it is a garden land by planting cocoanut, jack or other fruit trees) in the confidence that at the end of the 12 years he will be permitted to renew the lease for a further similar period on payment of the customary renewal fee. More often than not, he is doomed to bitter disappointment, for he discovers at the time of renewal that the holding has been leased over his head to some other person who had doubtless judiciously propitiated either the landlord or his

stewards, more likely the former, or probably both. The occupancy tenant has now no help but to quit and to begin life all over again, the compensation which he receives for his improvements being invariably most mournfully disproportionate to the labour, capital, trouble and anxiety invested by him in the hope of future reward. Even should he be permitted to renew his lease, his position is always an unenviable one, for there are numerous *avakasams* or dues which have to be paid from time to time to the landlord. When the lease is first written out, or when it is renewed, customary presents in the shape of *oppavakasam* (presents to the landlord for signing his name in the lease), *anandaravakasam* (presents to the junior members of the landlord's family), and *thadastharavakasam* (presents to those who took part in the negotiations), have all to be made by him, and if these demands are not met he will soon be made to feel his position. He is also required to take presents in kind to the landlord on all religious festivals as also whenever there should happen to be a ceremony at the landlord's. Then, the harpies of the latter have also to be duly propitiated, and, when in addition to all this fleecing, the tenant can never feel secure about the fixity of his tenure, it is small wonder that his position is always a precarious one. They say it is this want of fixity in the tenure that has mostly always driven the Moplah into fanaticism and is day by day impoverishing the once prosperous peasantry of the Malabar District. That the existing state of affairs is not a desirable one is the view held by officers of ripe Malabar experience like Messrs. Logan, Winterbotham and Dance. Now, the tenures of Travancore are based on the same principles as those of Malabar, are as subtle and bewildering, and proceed from the same root. But they have been wisely modelled to meet all practical requirements and they are capable of being applied to the best interests of the State, the landlord and the tenant alike, though they too are capable of being turned into instruments to injure and even destroy the tenant. But, on the whole, they work equitably in practice. It is not surprising that the fundamental principles of the Travancore and Malabar tenures are so closely allied, for time was when Travancore was an integral portion of the great democratic region of Kerala or the land of Parasurama, which extended from Gokurnam to Cape Comorin, 100 *yojanas* long by 10 *yojanas* broad (a *yojanam* being supposed to measure exactly 9 miles). In the days when it formed a portion of ancient Kerala, Travacore represented one of the 56 kingdoms into which India was divided of old. After the Perumals period Kerala itself was divided into three parts, the southernmost part

being the share of the Travancore Sovereigns. Internecine wars and rebellions convulsed it during its earliest days, and it was sadly dismembered and several of its limbs torn away cruelly, until the great Rama Varma and his still more heroic nephew Martanda Varma succeeded, one after the other, in crushing the enemies of their country and in rehabilitating the administration. Martanda Varma was, in fact, the founder of modern Travancore, extending his country from Edavaye to Periyar and bringing all the rajahs and petty chiefs and nobles into subjection. He constructed useful irrigation works, championed the cause of religion, founded charitable institutions, inaugurated and put through great reforms in the government of his kingdom and dedicated that kingdom to the god *Padmanatha Swami*, ruling it as his deputy or agent. The kingdom thus restored and settled is situated at the south-west extremity of India, between the 8th and 10th degrees of North Latitude and the 76th and 77th degrees of East Longitude. Its extreme length from North to South is 174 miles, and its extreme breadth 75 miles, with a total area of 6,730 square miles, peopled by about two-and-a-half millions of inhabitants. It is bounded on the North by the Cochin State, on the South and West by the Indian Ocean, and on the East by the range of ghâts which forms a natural barrier between it on the one hand and Tinnevelly, Madura and Coimbatore on the other. It is physically divided into two regions, (*a*) the low country bordering the sea throughout and nowhere exceeding 50 miles in breadth, and (*b*) an irregular tableland which separates the low-lying tracts from Madura and Tinnevelly. This tableland averages on its Western edge some 2,500 feet above sea level, while on its Eastern edge, some of the points rise to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The tableland and its heights are the Southern extension of the Western ghâts, whose continuity with the Northern portion that runs from the Palghat taluk in British Malabar to the River Taptee is broken by the "Palghat Gap." Thus, it will be evident that Travancore lies practically to the westward of the main water-shed of the southern portion of the great mountainous backbone or midrib of Southern India. More than a third of the area of the country is either forest or unsuitable for human habitation. About a sixth of the land is covered with low jungle, a portion of which is used for pasturage. Lakes, rivers and tanks, building sites, ricefields, slopes for dry grains, and cocoanut, palmyra, plantain, jack and mango gardens make up the remainder, along with about 15,000 acres under tea and coffee in the Hill districts. A rich picturesqueness of scenery characterises the entire country.

The mountains which, at some points, rise to an elevation of over 8,000 feet above the sea, Anaimoodi (8,837 feet) being the highest peak south of the Himalayas, are clothed with magnificent primeval forests, alternating with bare rocky precipitous acclivities and mountains of fantastic forms in the Southern parts, while as you go North, the chain becomes less bold, a few rugged cliffs and conical summits alone breaking the sameness of the outline. Again, the high range gives way to clusters of hills from the feet of which stretch fertile and verdant valleys, studded with many picturesque old temples and churches, with many a pious shrine and quaint piece of ancient architecture. In the South, the hills soften down into gently undulating slopes, intersected by glens and valleys, which widen as the elevation of the land decreases, and which, generously watered as they are by the mountain streams and the perennial lagoons, permit largely of the cultivation of rice, which proves very productive. The Coast and the belt of flat country ten miles inland running along the seaboard is one dense, unbroken, beautiful mass of cocoanut and areca groves, in the deep, umbrageous, cool, inviting shade of which nestle the natty, perfectly-clean, palm-thatched cottages of the simple peasantry. Numerous rivers traverse the land from East to West, leaping down in roaring, silver cascades from the everlasting hills and careering through the glens and plains till their floods, arrested by the action of the sea, are spread out into the numerous lakes or lagoons (blackwaters, as they are locally known), that form an inland line of smooth water communication extending nearly the whole length of the Coast. Nanjinad, the most extensive rice swamp in the country, is nowhere sterile, but responds lavishly to the efforts of the cocoanut gardener and the paddy cultivator. It is a most productive strip of territory, capable of sustaining a dense population, and, if I may compare small things with great, I should call it the Saskatchewan of Travancore. It yields the State an annual revenue of between five and six lakhs of rupees. The mountains of Travancore are richly clothed with teak, blackwood, ebony, sandalwood, white and red cedars, bamboos, and a great variety of other trees. They make the forest scenery one continuous panorama of the richest loveliness and grandeur. The noonday sun scarcely penetrates the dense vegetation, yet, under the huge timber trees, flourishes a wealth of tangled undergrowth, while in the natural avenues and solemn cathedrals of this grand garden of Nature, the majestic elephant and the royal tiger roam in fearless lordship and a great many other minor denizens find a congenial home here. In the neighbourhood of the mountain streams, in the cool recesses of silent glades,

the deadly serpentivore, and the huge python, appropriately called the "lord of the wilderness," find a safe lodging, while overhead, in the thickly interlaced branches of the forest trees, birds of gorgeous plumage dwell beside colonies of chattering monkeys and lively families of the brown-furred hill squirrel.

The irregularity of the surface of the country accounts for the widest diversity of climate. The pinching cold of the Himalayas may be experienced on the higher peaks, while at slightly lower elevations, the temperature is cool and bracing, just as it is in the South of England. If you travel in the lowlands during September and October, you realise that the clear and cloudless sky and the gentle warmth is much like what you have experienced in Southern France or Tuscany. But from January to May, the fierce sun beats down upon you with scarcely less cruelty than it does upon our brave men fighting on the naked South African veldt.

I have made these introductory remarks in order to show that Travancore is essentially an agricultural and pastoral region, wherefore, it was only natural that its rulers and the people should, from the earliest times, have turned their attention to questions connected with the soil.

Originally, the land tenure was *jenm* or hereditary right in fee simply, subject to no State demand. The traditionary history of the country States that the Nambudri Brahmins, by whom Kerala was colonised after its reclamation from the sea by Parusarama, received a free gift of all the land. This tenure, as will be seen later on, survives to the present day in respect of lands held by the Nambudri Brahmins and in their own occupation. They are absolutely free hold. During the sway of the Nambudris, the various Devaswams or temples over which they presided became possessed of immense wealth and landed property, to which latter numerous tenants were attached, who became the slaves of the Managers, their lives and properties being at the mercy of the latter. The mode of collecting the revenue in the State in the olden days was that the revenue of every petty district used to be roughly calculated and the local chief was made responsible for the collection of the same, deducting the amount assigned for the performance of devaswam and other religious ceremonies, for the maintenance of the militia and the collection of revenue. About the end of the seventeenth century, Ravi Vurmah, a wise and beneficent ruler, introduced various improvements into the land revenue as also into the general administration of the State.

At present, the State is divided for administrative purposes into four Divisions, 31 taluks and 244 proverties or villages.

The villages are again sub-divided into Karas or Mullahs, 3,728 in number, the area of each being about 2 square miles. This arrangement, facilitates the collection of revenue, the enumeration of gardens and lands, houses and population, and various other purposes of the executive administration. The principal village officer is known in various parts of the State as Proverticar, Adhicari or Monegar. He and his staff form the groundwork of the Revenue Administration, and how multifarious his duties are, may be judged from the following interesting description from the pen of an able and experienced Travancore Officer:—"Whether it is a royal procession or the lighting of a village temple, or the decoration of a pandal for the reception of a British Commander-in-Chief, or the supplying of rowers to a European traveller, or the supplying of provisions to a Nambudri dignitary, or the selling of a broken overhanging branch of an avenue tree, the Proverticar is the one official that is in constant requisition. All this is in addition to the never-ceasing pressure for collection of taxes, current and pending, and for replying to endless references from the Tahsildar and Peishcar. The hardships of the village officer are proverbial and form the theme of songs by the village women. The Proverticaran used to be looked upon with great respect by the ryots in former times, as the embodiment of Government authority in their village. He moved about in great state through his jurisdiction, carrying a huge cadjan umbrella, a *changalavathu* lamp, a betel box called *chellom*, and a pewter vessel, with water in it, known as the *pielimonthai* to gargle and wash his mouth, which is now and again required on account of the chewing of betel, nut and tobacco, perpetually going on during all the hours he is awake. These and a particular suit of clothes worn were the privileges of his high office and emblems of authority, still extant in the remote rural parts and still coveted by the bulk of our Nair population. Some are *Maura Parvathyom* or Proverticarships permanently held by certain well-to-do families of Sudras in the country, more on account of the dignity which they conferred than their gain; a fine institution, in my opinion, though latterly this hereditary privilege does not appear to be respected by the authorities." The Travancore land tenures of the present day are classed under two main heads—(*a*) *Jenmom* and (*b*) *Sirkar*. The former are of three kinds:—(1) Lands which are entirely freehold and exempt from payment of revenue to the State under any circumstances. This class comprises certain entire Proverties and Désams or tracts of territory together with detached gardens belonging to individuals or institutions. The following are some of the chief Proverties

held under this tenure:—The Adhigarams or Proverties of Attangal and Edacode belonging to the Ranees or Princesses and believed to yield an annual rental of about Rs. 20,000. The Kilimanur Adhigaram belonging to the Coil Tampurams or Consorts of the Ranees. The Desams of the Edappully Rajah, a Nambudri Brahmin, whose annual rental is believed to be very little short of a lakh. The Desam of the Pooniat Chief, another wealthy Abbott of the State, besides these, there are a number of Desams belonging to the Pagodas. Altogether, there are 76 of these Adhigarams and Desams which comprise, besides rice lands, about 24,000 gardens. (2) Lands originally free from taxation, but which subsequently became liable to it under certain conditions. The particulars of the tenure are:—(*a*) That its normal condition is absolute freedom from taxation, (*b*) that this condition ceases directly the land passes by sale or mortgage to others than Devaswam or Brahmin jenmies, but simply renting the land does not vitiate the tenure; (*c*) that on alienation the land becomes liable to light tax to the State called *Rajabhogam*, the rates of which are $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the full assessment; (*d*) that this tax is permanent even if the *konam* or mortgage be redeemed; (*e*) that if the Mortgagee dies intestate (a most unusual occurrence owing to custom of the country) the land is escheated to the State, the landlord or mortgagor being only entitled to the *Michavaram* or residue of rent payable to him by the deceased; (*f*) that if the Mortgagee abandons the land as unfit for cultivation, the Sirkar enters into possession and grants it to anybody who asks for it on full assessment. (*Vempattam* tenure, which will be described later on.) The lands under this particular species of tenure are known as Devaswams and Brahmaswams or property belonging to the Pagodas and Brahmins respectively. Proprietary rights are vested in the former case in the temple managers and in the latter in the descendants of the original jenmies. The number of gardens falling under this head is 421,459, of which over 42,000 are entirely free from taxation, *i.e.*, from *Rajabhogam*. (3) Lands subject from the commencement to the payment of a light demand. Under this head are comprised lands whose jenmies are Nairs and others generally not Brahmins, and who are known as Madambimars. The characteristics of this tenure are:—(*a*) that the lands are from the beginning subject to the *Rajabhogam* tax, leviable whether they are in the hands of Madambimars or others; (*b*) that so long as the lands are not alienated by absolute sale, the tenure holds good; (*c*) that if absolute sale occurs, the tenure is extinguished and the land is transferred to the *Otti* class, which will be described later on. There are 17,500

Madambi gardens, and among the chief Madambimars are the Rajah of Cochin and the Pooniat Chieftain, already mentioned.

The *Sirkar* or *Pandaravagai* lands comprise all that are not *jenmom*. In many countries, it is held that all lands belong to the Crown, but in Kerala, in which, of course, Travancore is included, the arrangement has always been different, it having been held in theory that all lands were originally the private property of the landlords and not of the State. The *Sirkar* lands of Travancore constitute, therefore, property which in process of time has become vested in the State by escheat or otherwise. So long as the State dues are paid on these lands, the occupants cannot be disturbed, whether they pay the full *pattam* (rent) or only a varying proportion of it, according to the character and condition of the special tenure on which they may be holding these *Sirkar* lands. There are 85 different tenures, on which they are held, and these are grouped under the following five heads:—(1) *Kuttagapattam*, (2) *Vempattam* or lands fully assessed, (3) *Otti*, (4) *Nair Viruthis*, (5) *Inams*. The *Kuttagapattam* lands are those which are let directly to ryots by the *Sirkar* on temporary leases, but which have not been brought under any fixed assessment. As an example of this species of tenure, may be mentioned the Palliport farm in North Travancore. In 1788, the Travancore Government purchased this tract of territory from the Dutch for three lakhs of Surat rupees. Tippu Sultan made an attempt to wrest the property from the State but, as is known, the Government of Lord Cornwallis was able to save the little Principality. In addition to the money tax on cocoanut trees which tenants on this farm had to pay, each tenant had until a few years ago to contribute one cocoanut frond for every eight puthens (10 pies) of assessment, and 18,000 fronds used thus to be paid in. I have not been able to ascertain whether the arrangement still continues, but presume that it does, the march of events and the progress of enlightenment being very slow, as a rule, in the rural areas of India. The *Vempattam* lands are subject to the payment of full *pattam* or assessment. The holders of these lands have full heritable and transferable rights in them so long as the State demand is paid. If the assessment is in arrears, the land is liable to be attached and sold. *Vempattam* is the most prevalent tenure and may be compared to the Ryotwary tenure of the East Coast. Out of a total of nearly 750,000 gardens, nearly 350,000 gardens or about 45 per cent. are held as *Vempattam*, and the occupied area under this tenure is constantly increasing, as waste lands brought under cultivation are registered as *pattam* lands subject to full assess-

ment. In the opinion of experienced revenue officers, all the other tenures of Travancore tend to ultimately merge into this one. It appears that all these lands were at one time the property of the Government, the holders having no rights in them, but about 35 years ago, a Royal Proclamation conceded to them full proprietary rights, and thus the holders were able to transfer the lands by sale, mortgage, gift or otherwise. The restriction imposed was that on every transfer of land for a money consideration, a fee of 2 per cent. of the value was to be paid to the *Sirkar*. A few years ago this transfer tax too was abolished.

The *Otti* lands are also charged with full assessment, but the *Sirkar* recognises a certain debt as being due to the tenants for which interest is payable at certain fixed rates. This interest is deducted from the assessment and only the difference, plus the tax called *Rajabhogum*, is credited to the State. The *Otti* is of the nature of a mortgage, the recognised rate of interest being 5 per cent. The *Rajabhogum* is generally $\frac{1}{8}$ of the assessment, though higher rates are prevalent in garden lands. In wet lands, the corresponding rates are called *Vitharai* and *Mupparai*, which are $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *parah* (measure) of grain, which is assumed to be the average quantity of seed required to sow a *parah* of rice land. The normal assessment on *Otti* lands is the *pattam*, less interest, but *plus* the *Rajabhogum* or *Vitharai*, so long as the lands remain in the hands of the original mortgagee or creditor. If the lands change hands, the conditions of tenure are somewhat altered by a process known as *Ottivilakum*. The debt due by the *Sirkar* is reduced 25 per cent. and the State demand is enhanced by the amount of the interest on this deduction. This process being repeated at every succeeding alienation, the result is the final extinction of the debt and the enhancement of the State demand to the full *Pattam*. About 8 per cent. of the gardens in Travancore are held on *Otti* tenure.

The Nair *Viruthus* are a sirvival of a former *quasi-feudal* system. The holders of these lands are required to perform certain services on certain public occasions, in consideration of which they remain on the lands, paying a light rate of assessment and *Rajabhogum*, in addition to which there is an extra cess called *chumattupanam* or "load-tax." *Viruthi* lands are inalienable and there are about 5,350 gardens held on this tenure.

The *Inams* are of two kinds—lands given for service to be rendered, and those given as personal grants from charitable motives or as a mark of favour. The former kind are inalienable and remain in the undisturbed possession of the

holders so long as these duly perform the prescribed services. The personal grants are in a few cases absolutely rent-free, but the majority of them are subject to the payment of a quit-rent and *Rajabhogum* or *Rajabhogum* only. There are slightly over 123,200 *inam* gardens of all kinds in Travancore.

In addition to the various tenures above described, there are certain lands to which the *Kundukrishi* tenure is peculiar. These lands constitute the home farm of the Maharaja and are regarded as the absolute property of the Travancore ruler. The tenants are tenants-at-will. They can claim no compensation whatever for any improvements they may effect and they pay a higher assessment than the holders of lands under the ordinary *Sirkar* tenures. Wet lands held on this particular tenure are liable, in addition to the usual assessment, to the payment of a special assessment known as *Kozhulabham* or proprietor's share. Moreover, the assessment on *Kundukrishi* lands is entirely payable in kind, whereas, in ordinary *Sirkar* lands, the time-honoured arrangement has been to make half the assessment payable in money and the other half in kind. There are about 254 *Kundukrishi* gardens in the State, besides rice lands calculated to yield 116,832 parahs.

It may be stated in conclusion that the earliest survey in Travancore of which we have any recorded mention was made in *A. D.* 1772-73. It comprised all cultivated lands, but was far from being an accurate undertaking, and was called a "record of what was heard," by which it was meant that the mere hearsay evidence of landholders and interested parties was accepted for the purpose of determining a most important question. In the beginning of the present century, there was a second survey of cultivated lands and it was described as a "record of what was seen." Later on, two more surveys were undertaken which embraced only garden lands, and subsequently again, a real effort was made to revise the garden assesment.

A permanent land assessment has been going on for some years past, but so far only about seven divisions or taluks have been completed, though the work is being vigorously pushed forward and several more taluks are either close upon final settlement or are fast approaching the stage when their assessment will be taken into consideration. The wet land revenue of the Travancore State is a little over Rs. 21,52,000, representing 96·95 percentage of collection to the demand. The expenditure involved in collecting the revenue amounts to about 15·19 per cent. of the receipts, which would leave the State a profit of something over Rs. 18,00,000. At the same time, in keeping with her long-cherished traditions,

Travancore does not reap all this income in such a manner as to bring misery to her children, for not only is the ratio of assessment reasonable and moderate, but remissions on account of perished crops and fallows or partial failure owing to scanty rainfall are freely granted.

ART. IX.—A UNIQUE TRIAL.

ON the 21st December 1779 began a trial probably unique in the history of Criminal Law, the trial of George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floger, and George Mackay for deposing Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras. The importance of the trial had secured a brilliant array of talent; Lord Mansfield was the Judge; the Attorney-General Alexander Wedderburne, and the Solicitor-General appeared for the Crown; Dunning led the defence, and his most able assistant was the Hon'ble Thomas, afterwards the celebrated Lord Erskine. The defendants were accused with the prolixity usual in legal documents of deposing the Right Hon'ble George Lord Pigot from his command and office of Governor of Madras and of imprisoning him for nine months, "they being of wicked and seditious dispositions, wickedly, maliciously and seditiously devising and contriving" so to deprive him of the Government. Many more accusations of the same nature were added, all in the geatest possible number of words, but it is not necessary to recite them all. It is enough to say that they were specifically charged further with arresting the Governor and of assaulting him with "swords, guns, pistols, and other offensive weapons."

The events, which led to this extraordinary state of affairs, must be traced back to the wars of the French in the Carnatic. To carry out the project, which "a very bold and enterprising Frenchman, M. Dupleix" (such was the description of the Attorney-General) had formed of driving the English out of the country, he had taken part in the disputes of the native chiefs. It happened that about the same time the Subah of the Deccan and the Nawab of Arcot died. The French set up a competitor for the Arcot throne, the English took the part of Mohammed Ali, son of the Nawab. The war which ensued ended in the fall of Pondicherry, and Mohammed Ali was established in the Government of Arcot.

During the time of the Mogul Empire the Kingdom of Tanjore had been allowed to continue subject to the payment of a tribute to the subordinate Nawab of Arcot. This tribute was fixed at 4 lakhs of rupees. When the war with Hyder Ali, which took place not long after the reduction of Pondicherry, had exhausted the Nawab's treasury, he demanded the arrear of tribute from the Raja of Tanjore, and to gain his end he sought the help of the English. The Raja explained that he too had been impoverished by the assistance he had given to his allies, in the war; but his excuses were not accepted, and

in direct violation of a previous treaty, the English invaded Tanjore and finally handed the country over to the Nawab. No sooner did the Directors hear of this disgraceful transaction than they determined to cancel it at once, and to this end they sent out Lord Pigot. But things moved slowly in those days and the Nawab had actually been in possession two years before any definite steps were taken. By that time complications had arisen to which the subsequent events were largely due. The Nawab had been put in possession by the agents of the Company and though their action had not ratified, he had been led to believe that there was nothing to fear. Accordingly he had made the usual advances of grain to the ryots, and he had borrowed money on the assignment of the Tanjore revenues. The Directors argued that he had received two years before the standing crop sown by the Raja of Tanjore, and therefore he would be no loser if the standing crop sown by him were handed over to the Raja. In two years, they said, he must have been a gainer and he could not complain. The Nawab, however, had got Tanjore, and he did not choose to part with it so easily. On Lord Pigot's arrival in December 1775, the Nawab declared that all his possessions were the Company's; and if the Company desired to send troops into his territory, he could have no objection. Lord Pigot, however, refused to entertain this indirect claim to Tanjore, and on Februry 9th, 1776, the Company's troops took the fort and released the Raja, who was a prisoner. But this was not restoration to the kingdom. Accordingly, Lord Pigot, with the consent of the Council, went in person in March 1776 to settle the affairs of Tanjore. Just before he started a man of the name of Benfield put in a claim for £250,000, which he said he had lent to the Nawab, and for which he had received assignments in Tanjore. Lord Pigot took little notice of the matter at the time. He told Benfield that he could not recognise the claim as it was in conflict with the Directors' orders. He then went to Tanjore, put the raja in possession, and returned to Madras on the 5th May. With two unimportant exceptions his conduct was approved, and a letter was sent to England, in which the Council said the raja had been fully restored to the possessions of his ancestors.

On the 29th May the demands of Benfield came before the Council and it was then resolved that the claim was of a private nature and was therefore inadmissible. But on the 3rd June Mr. Brooke, a member of Council, moved that the matter be reconsidered. The discussion took place on the 13th and the original resolution was then cancelled by a majority. Lord Pigot acquiesced in the decision, though

it was against his judgment, and though he objected to the whole principle of revision. But signs of the coming storm were not wanting. At the meeting of the 13th Mackay announced that he had a motion to make on the following day. On the 14th, however, when the Council met Lord Pigot proposed a motion. Mackay at once claimed priority and his contention was affirmed by the Council. He then proposed that all the Nawabs' assignments to Benfield were valid, and suggested further that they should recommend the raja to give the latter reasonable assistance in recovering his debts. Here began that divergence of opinion, which ended only in Lord Pigot's deposition. It was argued by the Attorney-General that since Benfield was not a considerable man, the assignments were fraudulent, and that corruption was to be inferred from the fact that the Council was so ready to rescind its own resolutions. On the other side, however, it was contended that there was no proof that the defendants had gained so much as a penny by the affair either at that time or afterwards, when they had assumed the Government. This contention was supported by affidavits and the judge decided that no corruption could be inferred.

Lord Pigot then proposed that "the transactions were private and could not be entertained," but Mackay was equal to the occasion. He said "the claims of Benfield were private as far as they regarded Benfield; as far as they regarded the assignments made by the Nawab, they were public" and this amendment was adopted.

So far the harmony of the council was to all appearances undisturbed, but the irritation had begun, and it was not allowed to subside. Towards the end of the month a letter arrived from Colonel Stuart commanding at Vellore, in which he demanded his appointment to Tanjore, in his opinion the more important station. The letter was not at once attended to. On the 28th June, and again on the 8th July, Lord Pigot proposed to send a Chief and Council to Tanjore. When this proposal was rejected, he suggested an appointment of a resident.

To this the Council assented and Lord Pigot at once proposed Mr. Russel. The Council, taken by surprise, agreed to this, but when they met next day, they wished to cancel Mr. Russel's appointment, and called for Colonel Stuart's letter. They objected that Mr. Russel had been appointed to a Committee of Inquiry in the Northern Circars, but this inquiry was expressly postponed to the affairs of Tanjore by the orders of the Directors. There was in the trial a dispute on the question whether the affairs of Tanjore were finally settled when the raja was placed in possession, but the tenor of the minutes

leads us to suppose that this was rather a forensic argument, used for the purpose of the trial, than a real objection advanced at the time. There is nothing to shew that the affairs of the North were in a position so critical as to require Mr. Russel's immediate presence. Moreover two of the committee appointed by the Company for the inquiry in the North excused themselves and their excuses were found valid even by Lord Pigot. If therefore substitutes could be found for them, a substitute could have been found for Mr. Russel, whose position was not in any way different from theirs.

On the 19th August Lord Pigot again moved that Mr. Russel be sent, if only for a few days; but the Council remained obdurate and insisted further that Colonel Stuart should be given the Command at Tanjore. Then Lord Pigot threw down the glove. He declared that he would not sign Colonel Stuart's instructions, unless Mr. Russel were also sent as Resident. From this point arose the quarrel which ended only in the deposition and imprisonment of the Governor; and the trial and finally the conviction of his opponents in Council. It is difficult to see why either partly took up such an obstinate position, or why the question led to such violent controversy. The Attorney-General suggested that Colonel Stuart was the tool of the majority, who for reasons of their own were afraid of an inquiry into the affairs of Tanjore. Neither part had any ground of complaint against Colonel Harper, who was then at Tanjore, and the sole reason which was advanced for the appointment of Colonel Stuart, was that he had asked for it and the Commander-in-Chief had recommended it. Colonel Stuart, it was alleged, would overawe the raja and disturb his peace of mind, if he were to be the sole authority at Tanjore with an armed force at his back. On the other hand there was no evidence to shew that the majority had any corrupt dealings to conceal, or that Lord Pigot had any reason to suspect them except in so far as the affair of Benfield might lend colour to such a suspicion. It will be seen later that, on the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher, Lord Pigot himself appointed Colonel Stuart to the chief command, and he could not therefore at that time have based his objection on personal grounds. It is more probable that Lord Pigot, having once entertained the idea of a Resident, determined to force this consent of the majority to his proposal; and perhaps it may be, that the majority, being equally convinced that a Resident was unnecessary, refused to submit to such coercion.

The controversy soon assumed graver proportions. In refusing to sign, Lord Pigot declared that as president he was possessed of that power without which a majority could not

act; an act done without his concurrence would be an act of the majority and not of the President and Council. "If I withhold my concurrence" he said "by adjourning his Council there is an end of the Council and here will be private violence and wrong done." The debate grew more and more heated, and as there was no prospect of an understanding, Mr. Stratton moved its adjournment to the 20th. Things went no better on that day and it was again adjourned to the 22nd. Lord Pigot then said that matters had become "very confused" and suggested that a reference be made to the directors on the affairs of Tanjore, the question of the President's powers being allowed to subside. But this did not satisfy the Council. They still clamoured for the President's signature to Colonel Stuart's instructions, and when he again refused, they drafted a letter to the Secretary ordering him to sign the instructions. The letter was handed round the Council for the signatures of the majority. Stratton and Brooke were the first to sign, and no sooner had Brooke signed then Lord Pigot snatched the paper out of his hand; then producing a written document from his pocket, he stopped the proceedings and read as follows :—

"I charge you George Stratton and Henry Brooke of being guilty of an act subversive of the authority of Government and tending to produce anarchy in signing orders to give instructions not approved by the President and Council. He then moved their suspension, and as he had by their move obtained a majority, the motion was carried.

This was a declaration of war and as such the majority accepted it. The Council was summoned for the following day, but the opposition refused to attend alleging that the suspension of Stratton and Brooke was illegal. Lord Pigot's faction however sat as a Council, suspended Floyer, Palmer, Jordan and Mackay, and ordered Sir R. Fletcher into arrest. Colonel Stuart was appointed to command in his place. On the same day the opposition met, and passed a resolution, appointing Colonel Stuart to command as Sir R. Fletcher was ill, and giving him power to arrest Lord Pigot, should he consider it necessary to do so.

It must be admitted that the members in opposition were placed in an awkward situation. Their contention was that Lord Pigot, as President, was simply *primus inter pares*, and that he was as much bound by the opinion of the majority as any other member of the Council. Erskine in speaking for the defence, argued that Stratton, admittedly next in Council after Lord Pigot was described by the Directors as second in Council, and thus by implication the President was only the first. Lord Pigot claimed the right of veto, and if this

were allowed the Governor would become, not the President of a Council, but an autocratic ruler. It was argued that by refusing to act Lord Pigot dissolved the Council and the famous case of Warren Hastings leaving the Council room was cited in analogy. Lord Mansfield, however, drew a distinction. The Council he brought could not act without a President, but if the President were sitting, he was bound to transact business. In fact on the question of the constitution, ten Judges entirely supported the accused. "There is," he said, "a Governor and Council. The Governor is an integral part of the Council and therefore as long as he stays, the Council can act..... But as long as he stays, he is ministerial and he has no right of veto. He is bound to put or not to put questions as the majority decide."

On the question of the constitution therefore the defendants were in the right for not only had Lord Pigot claimed the right of veto but the suspension of Brooke and Stratton, who were no more guilty than the rest of the majority, was clearly a trick to turn the balance in his favour. But having got so far how were the defendants to act? They might, it is true, record a formal protest against the President's action and refer the dispute to the judgment of the Directors. But England, in those days, was very far from India, and it seemed that in matters in which they differed from the President only two courses were open to them. Either they must submit to the President's claim or they must consent to let such matters stand over for a year. To both these courses there were grave objections; on the one hand they were, by no means, disposed to submit to the dictatorship of the President, and on the other there was every likelihood that public affairs would suffer. It was probably considerations of this kind which made them adopt a third course—that of arresting Lord Pigot. This, at any rate, was their justification, and the weakness lay in the fact that nothing pointed to a state of public affairs so desperate as to require a revolution for remedy.

Lord Pigot passed the greater part of the 24th August in the company of Colonel Stuart. At 6-30 a chaise driven by Mr. Benfield's coachman arrived at the Island, where a Company of Sepoys was drawn up. Sergeant Sawyer, of the Police, got out of the chaise and cocking a pistol said to the coachman "If you make any disturbance, I will shoot you." In the meanwhile Colonel Eidington and Captain Lysaght came up on foot and joined the party. Twenty minutes afterwards Lord Pigot and Colonel Stuart drove up in a phæton, and as soon as they arrived Captain Lysaght ordered the coachman to be in readiness. Then going up to Lord Pigot and putting a pistol to his breast he said: "My Lord, you are

my prisoner." At the same time Colonel Stuart turned round to the Governor and said: "My Lord, you are my prisoner: get out of the chaise." Lord Pigot was taken utterly by surprise and he had no choice but to obey. He got out of the chaise and he was then put into Benfield's carriage and driven off to the mount.

The dissentient majority had thus struck the decisive blow and their position appeared to be safe. They had secured the person of the Governor: Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief, had throughout been one of them, and they had apparently gained over Colonel Stuart, who, since he was appointed by both sides, to command at the Fort, may originally have been neutral. With these two officers on their side they could count with fair certainty on the support of the troops, and they now proceeded to give their Government a constitutional form by appointing Stratton President. But Lord Pigot was not without friends, and the following letter dated the 25th August, and addressed to Major Horne, who was commanding at the mount, shews that these friends were not disposed to submit quietly to their defeat:—

"Sir, Mr. Claud Russel having last night made attempts to get the main guard under arms, and as he and his associates may endeavour to send letters to our garrisons, we request you would endeavour to prevent their conveying papers to Lord Pigot's hand to be signed by him or their holding correspondence with him, whilst he is under your charge, unless in your presence. As your last resource in any attempt to rescue Lord Pigot *his life must answer for it and this you are to signify to him.*

"*P. S.*—The nawab has been applied to for a party of horse to be put under your command, and they are for the purpose of conveying quick intelligence to us, and for such other purposes as you shall think necessary." This letter, and the events which followed it, were made the basis of the charge of attempted assassination which was brought against the dependants. It was argued that the defendants were really employing a trick that has sometimes been used in similar cases—the trick, namely, of courting some slight disturbance in order that they might despatch their prisoner with some show of excuse. On the other hand it was urged that the letter must be taken honestly to mean what is said. Horsemen are not generally employed in schemes of assassination, and above all men who were contemplating assassination would not be likely to tell their victim what they were going to do. At the same time it may well be urged that that was part of the scheme. Feeling sure that occasion would soon arise to furnish them with the necessary excuse, they could afford to take all possible

precautions, and to manufacture evidence which would tend to absolve them. But there is no doubt that the letter itself, and the circumstances which followed it, did not amount to judicial proof, and probably assassination was never intended.

The defendants had in fact resolved to remove their prisoner to Chingleput, and the hour which they chose for putting their decision into effect lent colour to suspicion. On the 27th August between 11 and 12 at night Colonel Eidingtoun drove to the Mount and showed Major Horne an order which instructed him to take charge of Lord Pigot. The prisoner was therefore called and told he must go with Colonel Eidingtoun, but he strenuously refused. He was evidently afraid of foul play and thought at the least he would be taken to some unhealthy place, probably Gingee, there to be slowly poisoned by natural agencies. Major Horne said, "My Lord, my orders are positive: I must obey."

Lord Pigot asked where they meant to take him, but Colonel Eidingtoun replied that, though it was not to Gingee, he was not at liberty to say where he was to be taken. Just then a guard of artillery came into the garden, and Lord Pigot, still evidently uneasy, appealed to them. 'They were men,' he said, "who had fought with him at the siege of Madras." He could depend on them, and with them he would stay or under their escort he would demand protection of the King's flag and take refuge with Sir Edward Hughes, the commodore commanding at Madras. He would never consent to go with that traitor Eidingtoun, who had stopped him in the night on the high road, like an assassin." Things began to look serious, for according to the evidence Colonel Eidingtoun twice appealed to the men's sense of duty only to be met with sullen silence. Major Horne then drew Colonel Edingtoun aside, and after conferring with him, he said to Lord Pigot, "If you will promise to remain quiet for to-night, I will be answerable to Colonel Eidingtoun." Lord Pigot at once gave the desired promise, and there, it seems, the incident ended, for Lord Pigot remained at the Mount from that day till the 28th April 1777, though he was closely guarded and was only allowed to see his friends in the presence of an officer. On the 28th April he became alarmingly ill and the doctors recommended a change as a last resource. He was therefore removed to the "Garden House" in Madras, but this proved of no avail and on the 11th May he died.

The Coroner's inquest which ensued lasted until the 7th August, when the jury brought in their verdict to the effect that the defendants not having the fear of God before their eyes but being moved and reduced by the instigation of the devil . . . . did of their malice afore-thought kill and murder

'Lord Pigot' against the peace of our said lord the King his crown and dignity. "The decision was flagrantly absurd, and at the trial in London it was ignored as well by the Attorney General as by the Counsel for the defence. The Coroner asked the jury these questions: firstly, did they believe that death was due to the confinement; secondly, was the confinement illegal; and thirdly, was there any overt act of violence. If the answer to these three questions was in the affirmative, he told them, their verdict must be one of wilful murder Whether such a direction conforms to the modern definition of murder, is a question which is open to doubt, but which may safely be left on one side, because the answer to the important question whether death was due to confinement rested on the evidence of certain doctors, who laid down the general principle that confinement causes mental excitement, worry and fretfulness, which might bring on disease and so indirectly accelerate death. It was obviously unfair to make the deduction from their general proposition that Lord Pigot's death was directly due to a confinement which has lasted nine months.

Thus died Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, after being imprisoned by his own subordinates and guarded by his own soldiery in his own seat of Government. He had distinguished himself at the siege of Madras; he had been sent out to right what was wrong, and had been received in India with every mark of respect and honour. The story of his humiliation and of his melancholy death must move at least our compassion. At the same time justice compels us to admit that he brought many of his misfortunes upon himself. The affair of Benfield, no doubt, produced irritation, and had it not been for that irritation, perhaps Lord Pigot would not have insisted so obstinately on his appointment of Mr. Russel, nor his opponents on the transfer of Colonel Stuart. This was not a vital question, and either side might have yielded without loss of dignity. Lord Pigot, however, went further. He asserted his right of veto as a principle of the constitution, and this was not only denied by the dependants but contradicted by the records of the India House. An order of January 3rd, 1768, runs:—"Whatever shall be agreed upon by the majority shall be esteemed his order by which each one is to act, and accordingly every individual, even the dissenters themselves, are to perform their parts in the prosecution thereof, and in so doing they do their duty and are not to be blamed for the court." And again in an order of 9th March, 1702, "We do strictly enjoin that all our affairs be transacted in Council and ordered and managed as the majority of the Council shall determine and not otherwise upon any pretence whatsoever. Further by

Act of Parliament the Governor and Council were to be bound and concluded by the opinion of a majority. Therefore whatever may have been Lord Pigot's opinion as to the necessity for Mr. Russel's appointment, it seems fairly clear that he was bound to carry out the decision of the majority by appointing Colonel Stuart. All the violence and wrong originated with him. His first inconstitutional act was to claim the right of rate, and to refuse to obey the majority; his second was to arrest Stratton and Brooke. His opponents, on the other hand, did nothing in violation of the Company's orders until after the arrest of the members. When they formed themselves into a Council and elected a President, there was presented the curious spectacle of two Councils, both sitting at the same time and both illegal; for, since the President and Council were appointed by the Directors, neither party sitting without the other could claim to be a full representative Council. The disaffected majority lay under the further disability of having no duly elected President; consequently their actions were illegal from the moment of the division, and could only be justified by extreme political necessity. Upon this rock their case split. One by one the other charges broke down. The preposterous charges of murder brought against them by the Coroner's jury was ignored by common consent; the Judge set aside the charge of assault and attempted assassination, which the Attorney-General so strenuously argued should be inferred from the incident of the 27th August, and the letter to Major Horne; the attempt to explain the defendant's conduct in the affair of Benfield by a suggestion of corruption was met by the argument that they had not gained a farthing since the arrest of Lord Pigot. Every allowance was made for the difficult position in which they found themselves. Erskine cited the English Revolution in analogy. "Was it imminent danger to the State," he asked, "that Baptists and Independents might believe in transubstantiation and say their prayers without penalty? Yet the suspension of the penal laws was the immediate cause of the Revolution." This was an argument in favour of mitigating punishment, since as he admitted "those patriots were guilty in law, they were protected by an indemnity in Parliament." Were the defendants compelled to do as they did by urgent state necessity or were they not? That was the plain question put to the jury, and the jury found that they were not. The accused were fined £1,000 each, and the fines were at once paid; the public applauded the justice and moderation of the sentence, and from that time George Stratton and his companions disappear from history.

STANLEY P. RICE.

ART. X.—ART EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE discussion which has arisen in the press and elsewhere on my paper in the October issue of the *Review* seems to show that several points of my argument require further enlargement and explanation to be generally understood. A rather superficial article in the *Statesman* may be taken as representing the popular Anglo-Indian view of the question. "The ancient art of India," that journal observes, "though commendable in its way, did not suit the taste of the Mahomedan invaders and the result was that it began to decay long before the British occupation of the country." That the decline of Indian Art, previous to British rule, was due to the dislike of the Mahomedan conquerors for the Art they found in the country is an astonishing and novel proposition. However much the Mahomedans may have disliked the old Art of India, they were not above making very considerable use of it, and they brought with them such strong artistic tastes of their own as to produce one of the most remarkable developments of Art and Architecture that India has ever seen. The *Statesman* proceeds:—"That the British have done little or nothing to revive ancient Art in India is admitted, and the reason is obvious: they much preferred the Architecture and Arts of their own country to those prevalent in this. From an academic point of view it may be all very well to bewail the departing glories of any particular art or industry but it most be borne in mind that any branch of Art which fails to keep pace with the onward progress, tastes and requirements of the world, must inevitably be left behind and in time be forgotten."

Such arguments as these are typical of the self-complacent Philistinism which has done so much harm in India. This is the popular Philistine argument:—"Indian Art is all very well, but it does not suit our taste and is far behind the times. We give India the benefit of our superior taste and knowledge, and we really do so much good in every way that it matters very little if Indian Art decays. It really does not matter; we give India our own Art and Architecture instead."

I will leave the Philistines to the enjoyment of their tastes and pass on to consider whether we may justly compare the relations which exist between modern English and Indian Art and those which formerly existed between the Art of the Mahomedan invaders and the old Art of India. Any student of Art history will know that there is so essential a difference between the two as to make utterly fallacious an argument

based on such a comparison. English Art and Architecture of the present day are purely eclectic. They are dead languages which are taught in schools and academies in the same way as Latin and Greek. The ancient traditions which guided the architect, artist, and artisan in the Middle Ages and helped to produce those masterpieces which we moderns look up to as the highest exemplars, are lost and gone. Jealously guarded as a precious inheritance by the old Art Guilds, they were handed down, more or less completely, to comparatively modern times through the apprenticeship system. Each successive generation grafted its own individuality on to the old traditions, but passed on a vigorous and healthy stock to the next. So though the history of English Art shows that the Tudors cared little for the taste of the Normans, the Jacobeans little for the great work of the Tudors, and the next generation little for the taste of its predecessors, yet, through all these changes of taste, Art retained a healthy and vigorous existence, because it was an essential part of the national life and was guided throughout by principles and traditions which never changed. Then came the great revolution in industry and trade caused by the introduction of steam power and the development of mechanical science, sweeping away the apprenticeship system, and what remained of the old traditions, and creating a totally different condition of social life. Where is English Art now? It does not exist, in the same sense as Norman, Tudor, Elizabethan, Jacobean, Queen Anne and Georgian Art existed. It is no longer a part of our national life. It is the possession of only a small and privileged class, a luxury, and it must be said, too often a pretence. We fill our Art Museums with the works of past generations for designers to study. We build our houses not in the Victorian style, but in various imitation styles of old English, Italian, French, or German Gothic and Renaissance. We decorate them in Japanese, Indian, Moorish or Pompeian. The Government spends large sums in Art education; in former days Art education took care of itself with much better results. County Councils spend, and too often squander, large sums on technical education, with the result that the old system of apprenticeship is beginning to be recognised as the best means of imparting technical instruction. There is reason to hope that English Art is beginning to extricate itself from the quagmire of ignorance and folly through which it has been dragged for almost a century, but it is recovering its position only by going back to the solid ground on which it grew and flourished in past ages. In the course of generations new traditions many develop and Art may again become a part of our national life, but the period

which immediately followed the sweeping away of the old traditions will always be known as the most corrupt and degraded in English Art.

This, then, is the difference between the Art of the Mahomedan invaders of India and that which we introduce into this country. The former was a living tongue perfectly understood by the Indian Art workmen; the latter is a dead language, imperfectly understood by Anglo-Indians themselves and a meaningless jargon to the natives. The average Anglo-Indian may be perfectly satisfied with the sham Gothic, sham Elizabethan or Jacobean, and sham Classic styles which are thought suitable for our public buildings in India, but no one who cares to consider the question seriously can find anything but disaster to Art in the short-sighted policy which has made such false principles the basis of Anglo-Indian Architecture. Fergusson in the introduction to his *History of Indian* and *Eastern Architecture* has stated the case clearly:—"Architecture in India is still a living Art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries; and there consequently and there alone, the student of Architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the Art in action. In Europe, at the present day, Architecture is practised in a manner so anomalous and abnormal that few, if any, have hitherto been able to shake off the influence of a false system and to see that the art of ornamental building can be based on principles of common sense, and that, when so practised, the result not only is, but must be, satisfactory. Those who have had an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant, uneducated natives of India are now producing, will easily understand how success may be achieved, while those who observe what failures the best educated and most talented architects in Europe are constantly perpetrating, may, by a study of Indian models, easily see why this must inevitably be the result. It is only in India that the two systems can now be seen practised side by side—the educated and intellectual European always failing because his principles are wrong, and the feeble and uneducated native as inevitably succeeding because his principles are right." This was written twenty-five years ago, but we still continue to ignore the lessons taught by the history of Art in England during the last hundred years and carry on a policy which has done more harm to Indian Art as a whole than the competition of Manchester or any other external influence, a policy which, I am convinced, can only end in the eventual extinction of most, if not all, of the traditional Art of India.

If the Schools of Art in India were twenty times as numerous they could not counteract the influence which the

Public Works Department, by its monopoly of architectural style, exerts on Indian Art. It is not difficult to understand what that influence is. A great many of the industrial arts of India are inseparably connected with architecture. Wood carving and inlaying, stone carving and inlaying, *repoussé* and inlaid metal work, decorative painting in oil, tempera, lacquer and fresco, pottery (terra-cotta and tiles), and a good many minor arts. Indirectly most of the other art industries are more or less influenced by architectural style. Now as long as the traditional architectural styles of Indian Art are followed in Indian public buildings there is an enormous field open for the hereditary Art handicraftsmen, who, by the caste system, have preserved artistic traditions in India in the same way as the Art Guilds and the apprenticeship system preserved them in Europe. Of course in very many public buildings a lavish expenditure on decoration is out of the question. No one would dream of reviving the architectural triumphs of Akbar or Shahjehan; but still there has been a considerable amount of money spent on public buildings in decoration which artistically is worthless. If the same amount had been spent in good Indian decoration, many art industries which are now threatened with extinction might have been revived and Art in India would have benefitted enormously. For it must never be forgotten that the Art, or the semblance of it, which we introduce into public buildings, is trustfully regarded by most of the natives of India as the highest exposition of modern European civilisation and culture. The extraordinary discoveries of modern European Science must continually astonish and impress the natives of India, and we cannot expect them to understand that modern European Art is not on the same level as modern European Science. It is impossible for them to realise that the Victoria Terminus at Bombay is not the highest expression of Gothic Art, or that Government House at Calcutta is not the finest type of the Renaissance. Even if these buildings were what the natives believe them to be, the wrong we do to Art in India would be the same, for it is from the blind imitation of the style of these buildings that the decay and degradation of Indian Art proceed. If we set an Indian fashion in Architecture most of the natives of India will follow that fashion. Then instead of working blindly in a foreign style, the native caste architects, builders and art workmen will be following their own hereditary art instincts and traditions. The Indian Princes, Rajahs and others, who now lavish large sums on trumpery European decoration, would spend their money in trying to excel what the Government did in public buildings. When Indian Art was thus turned again into its natural channel, India

would afford the most magnificent field in the whole British Empire for the development of Art, instead of being, as it is now, almost the most hopeless and unprofitable.

It may be necessary to point out why, from an artistic point of view, the preservation of the living styles of Indian architecture is necessary for the preservation of a healthy and vigorous life in Indian Art. Those of the art workmen of India who have not been driven to agriculture for a livelihood, or have not been converted into ignorant copyists of Public Works patterns, exist chiefly by the manufacture of bric-à-brac for the European market. Let us consider for a moment the conditions under which they work. They make tea tables, tea trays and table covers, chairs, brackets, vases and "curiosities," on contract with the dealers in such wares. The dealers care nothing for the artistic excellenec of what they sell; whatever will catch the popular taste is to them the most desirable, and it is hardly necessary to say that the contract system as worked by them is not conducive to high artistic effort. The workmen are mere drudges; their commercial instincts and not their artistic faculties are developed by the work they are compelled to do. How different it was when Architecture which created their Art afforded it nourishment and support. They worked in a congenial atmosphere and were continually spurred to higher efforts by a spirit of artistic emulation. Their work was not something which was shipped off to Europe and never seen again. If a man did a fine piece of carving it was discussed and criticised not only by his fellow workmen, it became the talk of the bazar and one of the sights of the town, and remained for succeeding generations to admire and imitate. If a private house or palace was to be decorated the owner took a personal interest in the work and encouraged the workmen, for he felt a pride in the adornment of his home and the home of his family.* By such means the artistic sense both of the people and of the workmen was kept alive. The present Public Works System dries up the springs of artistic sentiment and checks their flow at the very source. It does not require a very strong imagination to understand that the

* Since this was written I have come across an exact illustration in a Report by Mr. J. L. Kipling on the Punjab Exhibition of 1881-82. He says:—"In building a house, for example, the work people are all paid wages more or less regularly, but for any extra spurt or during the execution of delicate or difficult details they are often liberally treated with sweetmeats, tobacco, sharbat, etc. In some districts when a carpenter has made a carven *chaukut* for door or window he takes a holiday to exhibit it, and spreading a sheet on the ground lays it down in front of the house it is to adorn, and sits there to receive the congratulations and gifts of his admiring townsmen. As much as Rs. 100 have in one day, been thrown to the carver of a particularly good piece of work."

one system developes the artistic sense of the people and creates a class of good art workmen and the other turns all artisans into mechanical drudges.

A correspondent in the *Pioneer*, though admitting that the architectural training of the Public Works Engineers is inadequate, contended that they could do much more artistic work if it were not for the 'cheese-paring policy of the administration.' This idea is born of the common superstition that Art has no part or parcel in constructive design; it is only concerned in ornamentation, and, as ornament is a luxury, Art as a whole is included in the same category. It is difficult for the public to understand that, even if the sum of money allotted for a building is insufficient for ornamentation, a better artistic effect will be obtained by a well-trained architect than by the most skilful builder who has had no artistic training—for the Art of the architect begins with the plan and construction of a building, the Art of the engineer begins only when he has done with the construction.

The question often arises—is it not an artistic anomaly to introduce Indian styles into European buildings for European purposes, in the semi-European cities of India? This is one of those peculiar archæological scruples of the modern Art critic, which artists and architects of all periods previous to the nineteenth century have resolutely ignored, and surely the artistic and architectural achievements of the nineteenth century are not so great as to justify it in setting up any new canons or principles of taste. One of the most striking characteristics of a healthy and vigorous style of Art or Architecture has always been its readiness, even anxiety, to adopt and assimilate new ideas, and perhaps nothing is more characteristic of the weakness and degeneracy of modern European building styles than the perpetual anxiety of architects over historical correctness of style. The Renaissance style, which is the style most affected by Anglo-Indians, is in itself a remarkable instance of the contempt with which all the great architects have treated the archæological scruples which so trouble the minds of modern critics, for what more glaring anomaly could be imagined than to take the style of pagan Roman and Greek temples as a model for the Christian churches and palaces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? If art criticism in those days had taken the lines which we generally follow now, the Renaissance style would never have been created. For my part I cannot see why it should be less appropriate to adapt living Indian styles of architecture to our requirements in India than to make a Bombay railway station a grotesque imitation of a Gothic cathedral, or to take Hyde Park as a model for the *maidan* of Calcutta. The ultimate test of a work of Art is not the

historical consistency of its style but its aesthetic perfection. If we were a people bringing with us into India, like the Greeks of Alexander's army, strong artistic convictions and workmen following a living artistic style we should doubtless succeed, as the Greeks did, in originating a new development of Indian Art, in which the best traditions of the East and West were combined. But, when we have nothing better than the dry bones of extinct styles of Architecture and Art to offer India, it is surely right to exert ourselves to the utmost to keep alive the living traditions of Indian styles and to give them a chance of adapting themselves to our requirements. There is no reason to doubt that Indian Architecture can be adapted to any Anglo-Indian requirements; Fergusson, who devoted his lifetime to the study of it and was himself a highly trained architect, had no doubt on this point. If, indeed, Indian Art and Architecture have lost the power they once possessed of adapting themselves to changed conditions, then they are already moribund and hardly worth preserving. But we have never made any real attempt to discover whether Indian Architecture still possesses any of the vital power it surely had in generations not remote from ours.

I do not pretend that the pristine splendour of Indian Art can be revived by a notification, or that the mistakes of fifty years can be wiped out by a Government order. But I do maintain that when principles are wrong the best thing is to put them right, and my endeavour has been to show what are the right principles for Art Education in India.

E. B. HAVELL.

ART. XI.—SRI TIRUMALA SEVARI.

WE have always thought it strange that while the Great Tirumala has always been recognised as Tirumala Naick yet his agnomen of Sevari does not appear to be known to the average Hindu. The school-boy at Madura will point without mis-direction to the palace he calls Tirumal Naick's, he will speak glibly of the king's greatness, and very much more will he say of Tirumal Naick, but who Tirumala Sevari was he knows not. How came Madura to become Tirumala's capital we asked. And the school-boy may be excused for his ignorance. Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historian.

Sri Tirumala Sevari was, without exception, the greatest of all the rulers of Madura in modern times. Between the age of thirty and forty he was crowned king at Madura in January 1623; and long and gloriously did he reign for six and thirty years. But before his coronation he held his court in Trichinopoly for twelve years. There he contracted so severe an attack of catarrh that the royal physicians gave him up in despair. And now to all and sundry it was known that the great gods of the River Kavéri, Rangla-Nayaka and Jumbá-Keshwara, either would not or could not help the king in his extremity. So the king determined to visit Madura, for which place he set out. But his illness waxed worse and worse till at last he could no longer bear the fatigue of travelling. Sick unto death he halted at Dindigul. There, on a certain night, he was sleeping uneasily in his tent. Aches darted through his body and pains held his joints; his brain gambolled in vain imaginations, while at other times his heart sank low in black despair. Thus ran the gamut of his sickening wail. Then came to him a pleasing vision. The God, Sundareshwara and the goddess Minakshi appeared and vowed that if he made Madura his permanent capital they would cure him of his malady so completely that he would never have a return of it. After making this conditional promise they gave him sacred ashes enjoining him to swallow a portion and to rub his body with the rest. Out of this dream Tirumala awoke just before the dawn of day. The Brahmans and his close attendants having approached him for their respective services, he related to them what he had seen and heard in his vision. Naturally they advised him to obey the wish of the gods so clearly expressed. Whereupon, on the spot, he unhesitatingly vowed that, if he was cured, not only would he make Madura his capital but he would spend there five lakhs of *pons* (£100,000 on sacred works. The vow made, it miraculously

occurred shortly after that, while he was leisurely cleaning his teeth early in the morning as is customary with Hindus, he felt the disease had left him entirely. He was overcome with joy; and thenceforth devoted his life to the worship and service of the gods at Madura and adopted the Saiva faith, of which the sacred ashes and the five letters *Na, Ma, Si, Va, Ya* are the symbols. Having arrived at Madura he received the sceptre in the presence of the goddess Minahshi. His bodily health sensibly improved daily; and in gratitude he set about to fulfil his vow by erecting buildings of several kinds. Piles of grace and beauty and structures of utility arose in all directions. From distant climes came cunning artificers; fine granite, and the beautiful black Madura marble were dug out of quarries; whole forests of timber were cut down; and mountains of the finest bricks burnt. To adorn the principal idols costly jewellery in abundance was manufactured, the richest fabrics were spun to cover them, while great cars of curiously carved and scented and costly woods were built for their conveyance. Then was to be seen in the course of slow and steady erection an enormous brick and stone palace of luxury and splendour unprecedented. Horses and elephants in thousands were bought and caparisoned with such extraordinary richness as to swell the king's pomp and to make him more famous still amongst men. This extraordinary expenditure of money and activity soon caused Madura to become rich and prosperous once more, her geographical position and physical resources enabling her to win and hold for herself a place among the cities of South India. There is but little doubt that, had Tirumala not fallen ill and his dream not coincidentally brought him health, Trichinopoly, not Madura, would have been the capital of the Nayakkan dynasty. There is no more unsuited a place for a fortress than Madura. Lying in the midst of a plain, with no rock or eminence for a citadel, unprotected by sea, river or morass, it could never have withstood a skillful or protracted siege. At the time it depended on protection from outside invasion on a high double wall, a wide ditch and seventy-two bastions; but though these works were constructed with much solidarity, yet they covered such an extent of ground that for the defence to be strong a very large body of men was required. The town itself had a square area of a mile, all sides being equally exposed to attack. Thus it can easily be seen that a very large army indeed was required for its successful defence. Tirumala's three immediate predecessors recognised all this and abandoned Madura, his immediate predecessor building a fort near Trichinopoly (which was for some time the capital of the Nayakkans) and fortifying Chidamboram. Madura was thus

practically deserted, for not only was it inferior to Trichinopoly as a place of arms but it was also much worse as a place of residence from a Hindu point of view. Through the latter flowed the holy Kavéri, a noble river, well filled through the greater part of the year, never even partially dry at any time. In Madura there is no river that is full for even a few days at a time. Round about Madura a much-dreaded epidemic of fever always rages. The Nayakkan kings for these reasons chiefly cared not to reside in Madura ; and we find Orme and others suppose Trichinopoly to be the only capital of the Southern Kings. When a king died his successor came to Madura as a matter of form to be crowned. The probabilities therefore are that Madura was capital in name, being visited from time to time by her kings as a holy place, the abode of Brahmans and powerful gods, the anger of whom it would be bad policy to provoke by indifference or neglect. Besides, her antiquity and the splendour and wealth of her temples would prevent her falling rapidly into obscurity. All these considerations notwithstanding, it goes without saying that Madura would have sunk to the level of an ordinary Hindu town had not the Great Tirumala made her his capital and done so much for her. Not only is Tirumala Sevari to be remembered as a liberal, sumptuous and charitable prince and a mighty architect, but his reign is also to be noted on account of the many wars he waged and the formidable rebellions he crushed. He it was who for the first time shook off the power of the Vijayanagar Yoke. Shortly after his accession he determined to make himself independent ; and anticipating the probable consequences of his rebellion he made considerable preparations for war. He massed 30,000 troops in Trichinopoly, and resided there for a time to supervise the erection and strengthening of its fortifications. Further, he built two new fortresses in his northern frontier ; and did not return to Madura till he placed, as he considered, his kingdom in a complete state of defence. But his subjects were greatly alarmed. The country was restless and excited, feelings, by no means, allayed by the general prevalence of famine. But this state of things passed away in the course of a few years when it was found that no dreaded armies of the Vijayanagar Kayár appeared. Thus it looked as if Madura would go unpunished. Taking into consideration the fact that Tirumala thought it necessary to put forth all his energies to repel invasion, and that not even the semblance of an attack appeared, the inference naturally is that the Vijayanagar Empire had become effete just then, being convulsed with internal struggles—and that the Pennukonda Dynasty of Vijayanagar had terminated about this time in consequence of protracted civil wars.

Our space is too limited to deal with the many events of the

reign of the great Tirumala. In this sketch, however, we think it necessary to notice a reverse that struck Tirumala almost to the ground. It curiously happens that in the lives of most great men a crushing blow comes when least expected. As with men so with Empires. Tirumala's predecessors had always adopted a policy of strict isolation. But watching the course of events in South India the king resolved to be more adventurous; to enter into alliances with foreign powers; to take part in the political movements which were agitating the Peninsula; and thus to raise Madura to a higher position than it ever occupied in the eyes of the Hindu world. To attain his end the first step he thought necessary was to repudiate the vassalage that the Emperor of Vijayanagar as Lord Paramount claimed, and thus render the Kingdom of Madura independent in every respect. Tirumala to strengthen his rebellious position, induced the Nayakkan kings of Tanjore and Ginji to join him, so that the Narasinga, as the Emperor of Vijayanagar was called, soon found that of all his tributaries, the king of Mysore alone remained faithful to him. But the Nayakkan of Tanjore soon lost his courage, for the warlike attitude of the Narasinga alarmed him. He accordingly not only withdrew from the league without notice but also betrayed the plans of the confederates, after formally tendering his submission. Now the Narasinga immediately marched on Ginji threatening to lay siege to that strong fortress. But his plans were disconcerted by a politician he was not prepared for. Tirumala had entered on an offensive and defensive alliance with the Kingdom of Golconda. So, when the Narasinga turned southwards to begin his invasion, the Souba of Golconda invaded the Vijayanagar territories, desolating them with fire and sword. This diversion compelled the Narasinga to re-trace his steps. He came up with his enemy, fell on him and drove him across the frontier with some loss. But the Souba, not dismayed, gathered together a larger army with which he succeeded in defeating the Narasinga, who now perceived that he was utterly unable to cope single-handed with his powerful neighbours. Resolving, therefore, to throw himself on the generosity of his unruly southern vassals, he marched southwards to negotiate with the Nayakkans. They, one and all, decided to be his allies. Fair terms were arranged with the usual oriental accompaniments of large promises, numberless interviews and sumptuous entertainments. In fine, nothing could be more cordial than the relations between the Emperor and the three kings of the south, his vassals. But no warlike move was made by them for over a year. This gave the Souba time to consolidate what he had gained by force of arms, all fortresses being securely garrisoned. In the meantime ill-fared

it with the Narasinga. A succession of misfortunes, such as seldom fall to the lot of a powerful monarch, overtook him. Jealousies and dissensions having spung up amongst those he was most anxious to conciliate, neither friends nor power had he. And when he attempted to entrench himself in the jungles north of Tanjore, then in the possession of the tribe of Kullars, his misadventures increased. Forsaken by his courtiers, the few troops left him quickly dispersed. In privation and hardship he spent the next four months, till he, at one time the mightiest and richest of princes in all India, had humbly to crave protection of the Rajah of Mysore, till lately one of his vassals; and to the honour of the Rajah, be it stated that he was treated in a manner not unbecoming his rank and position.

Now the Souba of Golconda was bent on extending his conquests in the south. The Narasinga subdued, his tributaries too he determined to subdue. So straight on Ginji he marched. The craven Nayakkan of Tanjore submitted without a blow. Not so the Great Tirumala. He had marked out his policy for himself. Seeing that the Tanjore King had gone over to the Souba, he resolved to create a diversion by inviting Idal Khan, the Souba of the Dakkan, to come with his Muhammadans to assist him in defending Ginji. To the Muhammadan Prince he sent an embassy that was so far successful that it procured the despatch of 17,000 cavalry to the assistance of Tirumala, who with 30,000 infantry of his own hurried to the relief of Ginji. But what was his mortification when he saw the General in command of his allies going over to the foe and besieging the town he had been sent to relieve. Thus was Tirumala placed in a position of great danger and difficulty. Happily for him, however, at the time, some of the Narasinga's adherents had been levying troops and causing disturbances in the northern parts of his lost dominions. On this account the troops of the Souba of Golconda had to fall back and the siege of Ginji was relinguished. So the troops of Madura entered Ginji. Strong by nature and admirably fortified, with stores of artillery and ammunition, and provisions of all kinds sufficient for a siege of considerable duration, there was no possibility of an enemy taking it either by assault or by starving the defenders out. Thus Tirumala thought the treachery of his allies would be of little account. But his calculations were all too soon upset—and he himself was reduced to the greatest straits. Being of different castes his soldiers began to quarrel with those whom they had relieved at Ginji. So violent became their animosity that it burst out into an open riot, in the midst of which the gates were thrown open to the enemy, who poured in to secure enormous booty.

Quantities of gold and silver, heaps of rare pearls and precious stones of large size and the finest water rewarded the patience of the besiegers. And this success incited them to fresh conquests and more extensive invasions. In dismay Tirumala fled to Madura, and shutting himself up in that fortress awaited with anxiety the progress of events. What he devoutly hoped for was that Madura being so far away from the enemy's operations would not attract his attention. But he was disappointed. Flushed with victory the Muhammadan troops burst upon Tanjore, took it, and came upon Madura like a flood spreading in their train destruction and desolation. And now came upon Tirumala the days of evil. His courage forsook him; irresolution and fatuity doomed him: without a struggle he ignominiously gave up his kingdom. To the Muhammadan General he paid on the spot a large sum of money and promised besides a yearly tribute. Thus, without a drop of blood being spilt, in the days of the Great Tirumala, the greatest without exception of the Nayakkar Dynasty, Madura became once for all a dependency of Vijayanagar.

To their own country the Muhammadans now marched off laden with spoil, while Tirumala was left to chew the cud of bitter reflection. Be his reflections what they may, it is evident they were productive of no good. A Jesuit writer, speaking of the foregoing events, says that, instead of combining against the Muhammadans as they should have, the Nayakkar Rulers acted in the manner that the words quoted below disclose:—

"Ne peusereat ju'la tour mentes leurs propres sajets, que leur imprudence et leux lâcheté avaient déja livres aux horreurs de l'invasion ; Eunemie Leur orgueil sembla se consoler des humiliations et des possesses, qui lés avaient déshonorés, en appesantis sant le jong de leur despotisme sur leurs peuples. Les concassions les spoliations recommencèreat avec une telle cruanté qu'elles firent universellement regretter la domination des Mogols."

With the varying changes in the remaining years of the Great Tirumala's reign our limited space will not permit us to deal. He died at Madura after a most eventful reign of six and thirty years, being nearly 70 years of age at the time. There is no authentic record of the actual cause of his death; but there are extant some curious and interesting traditions touching its circumstance. One is to the effect that Tirumala persistently favored greatly a pretended *guani* or sage, who was in reality a Christian Missionary in disguise. So extraordinary an ascendency did this teacher gain over the mind of the king that it is said, he almost, if not quite, won

him even to Christianity, a sign of the change being the King's refusal to erect any more temples or spend any further sums in the performance of acts of religious charity. Taking note of this change the Brahmans, it is said, formulated their plans for the King's destruction. Some two or three of them went to the King secretly and mysteriously informed him of the discovery of great treasure in a vault under the Temple of Minakshi. They asked that he should go with them unattended, when they would point out the spot. Having no suspicion of foul play he acted in accordance with their wishes. Once in the vault over its mouth a huge granite slab was quickly placed and the king left to his fate. A good deal, *pro* and *con*, is said regarding this tradition. Some consider it childish and incredible, while others say that truth lies in it as deep as in a well. In the first place it is well known that the great Robert de Nobilibus founded an important Mission in the town of Madura during Tirumala's reign, and with the direct countenance and assistance of the king, after many years of labour, made a very considerable number of converts. Owing to the jealousy of his fellow-priests of another order, he was compelled, under directions from Rome, to leave Madura and proceed to a distant part of India, his departure being the signal for the sudden decline and death of his Mission. Robert de Nobilibus, be it noted, always professed to be a high-caste Brahman from Rome, and always dressed and lived up to that character. In the next place, it is not likely that the Brahmans would allow their crime to become a matter of history if they could possibly help it. Hence, the silence of native manuscripts as to the cause of the king's death. Then it must be borne in mind that the alleged manner of bringing about the king's murder was one of the few modes in which Brahmans could conscientiously commit that crime, as there was no flowing of blood. Further, it enabled them to translate the hero to heaven for the edification of his worshipping subjects. All the above has been urged in favor of this tradition. There is yet another story as to how the Great Tirumala met his death. It would appear that he had an intrigue with the wife of a Bhattam or priest of the temple, and carried on his amours after nightfall. Returning to the palace in the dark, after one of these interviews, he fell into an unprotected well and was drowned. The Bhattam finding out what had happened was so terribly alarmed that, to avoid suspicion, he filled in the well. Then informing the Brahmans of what he had done, the graceful translation to heaven was invented.

What is perhaps the most authentic report on record of the king's demise is that which occurs in a letter written just

ART. XII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

Moksha (Salvation), Moksha Marag (The Way To It) And Moksha Phal (Its Consequences).

HAVING briefly shown that it is wrong to include Jainism under Atheism, I come now to the principal part of my subject, that is, the description of the Three Jewels, namely, Right Knowledge, Right Belief, and Right Conduct.

In the first place, let us see what knowledge is. Knowledge is the distinguishing attribute of soul. It is the Suvabhara (Nature) of soul to know. Knowledge is of five kinds, namely, Mati Gyan (sensuous knowledge), Shruti Gyan (inferred knowledge), Avadha Gyan (knowledge of bodies of limited times and places), Mun Parya Gyan (knowledge of what passes in others' minds), and Kaiwal Gyan (knowledge of all things of all times and places).

Mati Gyan is the knowledge which we have through our senses, such as the knowledge of colours, smells, tastes, sounds and the like. Shruti Gyan is the knowledge we gain through inferences from our sensuous knowledge. Avadha Gyan is the knowledge which soul has, not through the senses but by its own power, of bodies of limited times and of limited places, such as the Rishees have knowledge of the several past and future births of themselves and of others, or they have the knowledge of distant places. Shruti Gyan is Kaiwal Gyan, the knowledge which Rishees have of what passes in others' minds is the knowledge of all things of the past, however remote it may be,—of the present, and of the future, without any limitation, and of all places.

The three latter kinds of knowledge may not be within the two former kinds, but they cannot be inconsistent with them. Mati and Shruti Gyans are only part of the whole knowledge, hence they cannot contain all truth. As we have only two former kinds of knowledge; there may be truth of which we may not be conscious; but still, if it is consistent with our consciousness we cannot say that, as it is not within our consciousness, it is untrue.

These are the five principal kinds of Gyan (knowledge), but with reference to its fine increase and decrease, there may be many divisions. Every Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) has latent power of the fifth kind of Gyan; but as it is in bondage with Karamas, this power does not manifest itself. As Jiva gradually progresses, this power of Gyan manifests itself more and more. Animals with one organ of sense, have less knowledge than those with two; those with two have less than those with three;

those with three have less than those with four; those with four have less than those with five; and animals with five organs of sense have less knowledge than a man or God has. Again, man has various stages of knowledge; the more he purifies himself from Rag Dwaish and the like, the more knowledge he has. He passes through the various stages of Mati, Shruti, Avadha and Mun Parya, till when he gets himself fully released from the influences of moral vices and of Karamas, Kaiwal Gyan illumines him and the whole universe to him, and he is exalted to the Highest.

The editor remarks that the principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either, is inapplicable to the case of the interaction of matter and soul. In his opinion, the word "things" means only material things. In the first place, there must be some authority to assign such a limited meaning to the word. Is soul not under the category of thing? Can we call soul a non-thing? If so, it means that we do not believe in the existence of soul. Then that is another question which was not within the scope of my reply to the editor's note, there I was only explaining the interaction of matter and soul, taking for granted the existence of both of them.

The principle by which I explained the interaction of matter and soul is a general principle, being applicable to all kinds of Being. The principle is not an especial one, it is not such as to apply only to any specific class of Being, but it governs the whole category of Being. The principle will equally apply, when any Drabas (beings) combine, no matter whether they are matter and matter; matter and soul; soul and soul. Soul cannot be regarded as falling out of the category of Being. As soul and matter both fall under the same category, *viz.*, of Being, the principle which is applicable to the category of Being, must hold equally good with soul as well as with matter.

Draba is, in Jain Shastras, defined as that which has Sat (existence) as its Lakshan (distinguishing attribute), or that which has attributes and conditions to constitute it. Attributes are of two kinds, general and especial. A general attribute is that which is found in all the Drabas. Sat (existence) is a general attribute found in all the Drabas. Gyan (knowledge) is an especial attribute found only in Jiva (soul). Saparash (touch), Ras (taste), Gandh (smell), and Barun (colour) are especial attributes found only in Pudgal (matter). As the general attribute of matter and soul is the same, the principle above enunciated will apply to both.

In understanding the doctrines of Jainism, it must be borne in mind that Jainism is not an absolute dualism. It is dualism as well as monoism. It is, as I have in a previous article said, an Unaikantic system. An Unaikantic system describes Being or Reality with reference to all its parts, aspects, conditions and relations. Whatever theory it inculcates, it does so not absolutely, but with a certain Naya (point of view). Now Jainism does not teach that Draba (Being or Reality) is absolutely one or two. Being is one so far as Sat (existence) is concerned, it is two so far as the especial attribute of Gyan (knowledge) is concerned. It is six with reference to other especial attributes. It is infinite with reference to its infinite attributes and conditions. The attribute or power of Sat or Drabatava Bhava is of course one, but it inheres in all Being, whether soul or non-soul. So far as this Drabatava Bhava or Sat is concerned, Draba (Being) is one and Jainism is monoism; but looking at soul and non-soul in which this power is manifest, Draba (Being) is two and Jainism is dualism. So far as the cause of the universe is Sat (existence), Jainism is monoism, but we find this Sat manifested in soul and non-soul which are composing the world, and consequently we are led to regard them as its cause, Jainism is dualism.

Jainism, in reality, comprises all religions in itself. It contains the doctrines of all religions, but with a certain Naya (point of view). It does not say that the theory of any religion is false. It is in peace with all religions, holding what they teach to be true, though not absolutely, but with a certain Naya (point of view). Jainism itself does not propound any doctrine absolutely, but whatever it teaches, it does so in a certain way.

Now, take for instance the doctrine that Parmata (God) is the cause of the world. According to other religions, this doctrine is absolutely true, God cannot be other than the creator. But according to Jainism God can be called creator only in a particular point of view. Jainism teaches that Atma and Parmatma are one; but so long as Atma does not manifest its real nature, and is under the influence of matter, it is Atma, but the moment it gets released from its influence, it becomes Parmatma. Atma even when in bondage with Karamas, is as regards its Suvabhava (nature) Parmatma. Now cause of the world is soul and non-soul, but as soul is an important factor, and as we do not, in practical life, take notice of minor factors, but speak only of important ones, we are justified to hold Parmatma as the cause of the world.

Further the editor remarks that I confound two distinct questions, *viz.*, the question of the effect produced by the interaction of soul and matter, and the question of the way in which that effect is produced. Now the effect of this interaction is, brief-

ly speaking, the Sansar (the world). By this interaction soul is infected with Rag Dwaish and Moh (love, hatred) and ignorance). It is by this interaction that matter is animated. It is the result of this interaction that we find our bodies different from the dead matter of a stone. All the various conditions of Jiva in this world are owing to this interaction. All the conditions of Jiva—from insect to man or God, are caused by the interaction of soul and matter.

Now as regards how that effect is produced, the reply is, that it is produced by the conformance with this general principle that when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other and they form a combination which is something different from either.

Again the editor also observes that for the proof the way in which the effect is produced, we must look elsewhere, than to our experience of the interaction of matter and matter. The meaning of this observation clearly is, that we admit a principle in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, because we are capable of knowing matter through our senses, but we do not admit the same principle in the case of the interaction of soul and matter, because we are not conscious of soul through our senses. It is not other than saying that we should not believe in anything beyond our sensuous knowledge. Now this proposition is most assuredly antagonistic to all religious systems in the world. When we find a principle holding good in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, what warranty have we got to say that it will not apply in the case of the interaction of soul and matter? When both soul and matter are under the same category, that is, when both of them belong to the category of Being, why should we doubt that a law which we find applicable in the case of the interaction of matter and matter, will also apply in the case of that of soul and matter? Of course the latter experience is not within the former, but at the same time it is not inconsistent with it and its consistency with the former tells more in its favour.

There is a difference between a thing being beyond, and inconsistent with, the sensuous knowledge and its being beyond, yet consistent with it. In the first place, we of course have little ground for belief, while in the latter we cannot do but believe unless we have something awfully strong in favour of disbelief. A thing may be beyond our sensuous knowledge, but if it is consistent with it, we are justified to say that it is warranted by our sensuous knowledge and we have more reason to believe it.

The editor further remarks that I, while referring to the testimony of our consciousness, am reasoning in a circle. I do not see how I was doing so. When in my reply to the editor's note, I was describing the interaction of soul and matter, I was not proving their existence, but I took them for granted.

The very existence of consciousness indicates the existence of soul. In order to understand the matter more clearly, I must ask what is consciousness? Is it not the knowledge of what passes in one's minds? If consciousness is knowledge, then to whom if not to soul does this knowledge belong? You speak of being conscious, then who, if not soul, is conscious? If I admit the existence of consciousness, I must necessarily admit the existence of soul.

It comes to this that consciousness is an attribute of soul and this attribute has in itself its own changes. Then I ask by what, if not by some second entity, these changes are caused? These very changes show that there exists, besides soul, some second entity.

As Jiva is as regards number infinite, the surrounding objects comprise both soul and non-soul, there being little doubt that what we perceive by our senses is matter.

We have, under the present development of our nature, only two kinds of Gyan (knowledge), namely, Mati Gyan (sensuous knowledge) and Shruti Gyan (inferred knowledge). We of course are not, in our present situation, able to compare matter and soul completely, but we can compare them as far as our sensuous and inferred knowledges are concerned. It is too bold to assert that we are altogether unconscious of matter and soul. Besides this, soul and matter are compared by those who had attained Godhood and who had Kaiwal Gyan (pure entire knowledge), and Jain principles have their source in their teachings.

Now it may be, here, remarked that, when not only Jainism but all religious claim to Revelation from God, how can we test their veracity. The reply is that true Revelation is that which stands to reason and which is, though not within, yet consistent with, the sensuous and the inferred knowledge. Jain precepts may not be quite within Mati and Shruti Gyans, but still they are not inconsistent with such Gyans.

The Jain doctrine of differentiating Being into soul and matter, or properly speaking into soul and non-soul, though not thoroughly proved by sensuous and inferred knowledge, is still supported by such knowledge and is not repugnant to common sense.

It is admitted by the editor that we know ego and non-ego subjectively and objectively respectively. No matter how we know them, but it is certain that, to some extent, we know them, and consequently we can compare them as far as our knowledge goes. And the results of our comparisons, far from being inconsistent, are rather in conformity with the Jain principles and hence we have little ground to doubt them.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B. A.

ART. XIII.—SHAKESPEARE AND ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

THE story of the magic horse in the Arabian Nights, says Burton, may have originated with the Hindu tale of a wooden Garuda (the bird of Vishnu) built by a youth for the purpose of a vehicle. It came with the Moors to Spain, and appears in "Le Cheval du Fust," a French poem of the thirteenth century. Thence it passed over to England as shown by Chaucer's* "Half-told tale of Cambuscan (Janghíz Khan?) bold," as

> The wondrous steed of brass
> On which the Tartar King did ride;

And Leland (Itinerary) derives "Rutlandshire" from a man named Rutter, who rode round it with a wooden horse constructed by art magic.

Lane (ii. 548) quotes the parallel story of Cleomades and Claremond which Mr. Keightley (Tales and Popular Fictions, chap. ii) dates from the thirteenth century.

The writer of an article on the Thousand and One Nights in No. 47 of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, alluding to the voyage of as-Sindibád, observes that a singular poem contains some highly curious coincidences with these voyages and with some other portions of the Arabian Nights. "They tend, at the same time," he adds, "to prove the antiquity of these particular stories, as it is improbable that the eastern story-teller should have been indebted to the writer of a German metrical romance of the twelfth century. The romance alluded to is Duke Ernest of Bavaria. It was composed in German Rhyme by Henry of Veldeck, who flourished about 1160; and a Latin poem on the same subject by Odo, appeared about the same time. A prose version of the outlines of the story is still popular in Germany. In this singular romance we find the aëronautic excursion in the second voyage of Sindibád with no material variation; the pigmies and cranes as well as the adventure borrowed from the Odyssey in the third voyage; and the subterraneous voyage in the sixth. We have likewise the magnetic mountain, occurring in the story of the Third Calendar, which has also been transplanted into the miraculous legend of the Irish Saint, Brandanus."

From this it will appear that stories of eastern origin were current in Europe as early as the twelfth century and we should not be surprised if we come across stories current in the

* Canterbury Tales—the Squire's Tale.

East bearing striking resemblance to some of the plots of Shakespeare's plays.

The source of the *Tempest* is doubtful, and no novel or play has been discovered from which Shakespeare can be conclusively shown to have derived his plot. Although we may easily believe that the essentials of the story were of his own imagination, the Story of Sindibád of the Sea and al-Kazweenee's *Ajá-eb-ul-Makhlookat*, being carried to Europe by the German story-teller, may have furnished Shakespeare with some hints. Indeed the whole plot of the *Tempest* savours of the Land of the Thousand and One Nights.

Antonio's putting "one midnight fated to the purpose," Prospero and his infant daughter Miranda, into a leaky, unrigged boat, instead of putting them to death immediately; their miraculous escape and the final reconciliation between the two brothers; the mention of Afric, Argiers and Tunis, which were under Moorish domination; all these point to an eastern origin of the story. The 'delicate Ariel' reminds one of the slave of the lamp or of the ring who could work wonders and who could assume any form that of handsome *memlooks* or beautiful slave-girls. And we have Caliban's counterpart, so far as external appearance goes, in the Old Man of the Sea mentioned in Sindibád's fifth voyage. Ibu-ul-Wardee and al-Kazweenee* give the following account of Yakoob Ibu Ishák's adventure with a water-man which will give an idea of his appearance:—

"Being then secure from them, I journeyed over that island, night and day, and came at last to trees bearing fruits, beneath which were men who had no bones in their legs. I sat, and I understood not their language, nor did they understand mine; and I was not aware of it before one of them mounted on my neck, wound his legs round my throat, and urged me to rise. So I rose with him, and strove to release myself from him, and to throw him down from me; but I could not! and he began to scratch my face with his sharp nails. I therefore proceeded to carry him about among the trees, and he ate of their fruits, and fed his companions, who laughed at me. But while I was bearing him about among the trees, a thorn of a tree entered his eye, and he became blind. Then I pressed for him some grapes, and said to him, Stoop. And he stooped; whereupon his legs became loosened from me, and I threw him down from my neck, and departed, and God saved me by his grace."

Al-Kazweenee also mentions in the conclusion of his work, that in the island in which is a people with faces like the faces of dogs, that is, the island which is said to have been the scene

* Al-Kazweenee flourished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and Ibu-ul-Wardee about the middle of the fourteenth.

of the adventure above related, "there is a people in the form of men like the handsomest existing, and there is no bone in their legs." He adds: "They drag themselves along; and when they find a man walking, they leap upon his neck, and fold their legs upon that walking man; and if the latter strive to throw down the man upon his neck, he scratcheth him upon his face, and he curbeth him as one of us curbeth his beast."

But in another place, in his account of animals of water, he gives a somewhat different account of the "Old Man of the Sea," as follows:—"The water-man resembleth a man, saving that he hath a tail. ..... One of them was found in our time dried, and was shown to the people, and his form was as we have described it. It is related that, from the Sea of Syria, sometimes, there cometh up from the water to the abode of men (a creature in) the form of a man, having a white beard, and they name it the Old Man of the Sea, and it remaineth some days without descending; and when the people see it they rejoice in expectation of plenty."

Does not Sindibád's description of the water-man that never speaks but expresses his meaning by gesticulations, that has sharp nails and long leathern legs resemble the description of the monster half fish and half man, "legged like a man and his fins like arms"?

In *Tempest*, iii, 2, 130 we find the following passage:—

Cal.—Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not,
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears, and sometime voices
That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again; and then in dreaming,
The clouds methought would open and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that, when I waked,
I cried to dream again.

In al-Kazweenee's description of the Island of Bartáil occurs the following passage:—"In it also are mountains whence are heard by night the *sounds of the drum and tambourine*, and disturbing cries, and disagreeable laughter; and the sailors say that ad-Dajjál * is in it, and that he will come forth from it." The Island of Bartáil is supposed to have been not far from modern Borneo. Hole suggests (p. 38) that the roaring of the waves amidst its hollow rocks might, not improbably, have resembled the sound of drums; and afterwards (p. 41) he remarks: "Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola, a learned divine, employed by the president and council of the Indies to write a history of the discovery and conquest of the Moluccas, observes, that near Banda is 'a desert and un-

* The Antichrist of the Muslims.

inhabited island, called Poelsetton, infamous for stronger reasons than the Aerocerannian rocks. There are cries, whistles, and roarings, in it at all times, and dreadful apparitions are seen, etc.; and long experience has shown that it is inhabited by Devils.'

Steeven also thinks that many of the incidents of this scene may have been borrowed from a translation of the voyages of Marco Polo, the old Venetian Voyager, from which he quotes, "——You shall heare in the ayre the sound of *tabers and other instruments*, to put the travellers in feare, etc., by evill spirites that make these sounds, and also do *call deverse of the travellers by their names*," etc.

The only difference between me and Steevens is that I hold the brief for the Arabian traveller and he for the Venetian.

In *Tempest*, iii, 3, 44, Gonzalo says:—

Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh? Or that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts? Which now we find
Each putter-out of five for one will bring us
Good warrant of.

Compare *Othello*, i, 3, 144, 5, "The Anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders:" on which passage Malone remarks that Shakespeare there as well as in *The Tempest* probably "had Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598, in view; 'on that branch (of the river) which is called Caora, are a nation of people whose heades appear not above their shoulders; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts.'" "In the Island of Jábeh," says al-Kazweenee, "is a mountain whereon is seen a great fire by night from afar, and by day, a smoke: none can approach it. In it also are aloes-wood and the banana and the cocoanut and the sugarcane. Its inhabitants are a tawny people, in the form of men, save that *their faces are in their bosoms*."*

Blue-eyed (i, 2, 269), for which Staunton conjectures *bleareyed*, has been explained as referring to what we now call the blackness, the livid colour, seen under the eyes of those who are in ill-health. Dyce compares A. Y. L. iii, 2, 393, "a *blue eye* and sunken."

But I think 'blue-eyed' would be better explained if we keep in view the Arab prejudice against blue eyes which associates them with sorcery and witchcraft. *Azrak-ul-'Ain*

* In the above quotations from al-Kazweenee I have frequently availed myself of Lane's notes to his excellent translation of the Arabian Nights.

ازرق العين "blue of eye" is still a term of reproach with the Arabs. This reminds me of the story Larká al-Yamáma, the blue-eyed maiden of Yamáma which in itself presents a striking analogy (to which attention has been called by Baron Carra de Vaux) with the coming of Bernan Wood to Dunsinane in *Macbeth*. I give the story in full from the *Essai sur L'Histoire Des Arabes* by M. Caussin de Perceval, vol. I, p. 101.

Il (Hassân Tobbâ) acheva la destruction de la tribu de Djadîs, déjà décimée, ainsi que celle de Tasm, par Dhon-Habchân. L'on a vu précédemment que la tyrannie d'Amlouk, issu de Tasm, et roi des deux tribus avait fait naître uncomplot formé par la famille de Djadîs, qui avait massacré celle de Tasm, à l'exception d'un certain Ribâh, fils de Mourra. Celui-ci, échappé au fer des meurtriers, se réfugia auprès de Hassân Tobbà, et l'excita à faire une expédition contre la tribu de Djadîs.

Hassân rassembla des troupes, et se mit en route. Larrqu'il fut parvenu à trois marches de Djaw, lieu où étaient les châteaux forts des Djadîcites, Ribâh, fils de Mourra, lui dit: "J'ai une sœur mariée à un homme de Djadîs: elle se nomme Zercâ-el-Yemâma. Elle a une vue si perçante, qu'elle distingue les objets à une distance de plusieurs journées de chemin. Je crains qu'elle n'aperçoine votre armée, et qu'elle ne mettee les ennemi sur leurs gardes, Commandez donc à vos soldats de preudre de grandes branches d'arbre, de les tenir devant eux, et de s'avancer en se cachant derrière le feuillage." L'ordre fut donné et exécuté. Malgré cette précaubon, Zercâ-el-Yemâma découvrit de loin les troupes du tobbà. "*Je vois, dit-elle, des arbres qui marchent; derrière sout les Himyarites*" on ne la crût pas. "Je vais, ajonta-t-elle un soldat qui raccommode un de ses souliers." On se moqua d'elle, et l'on ne songea a la défense que lorsqui'l n'etait plus temps. Hassân surprit les Djadicites, les extermina tous, et rasa leurs chateaux. * * * * Quant à Zercá-el-Yemâma, le tobbà lui fit arracher les yeux. On remarque dans leurs globes des fibres noires. Interrogé sur cette singularité, elle l'attribua à l'usage qu'elle faisait d'un collyre de pondre d'autu'noine. Elle fut, dit-on, la premiere fumme arabe que se servit de ce collyre l'est de son nom que l'ancien pays de Djaw a été appelé Yemáma. En fin c'est à l'excellence fabulense de sa vue que fait allusion le proverbe: *Plus clairvoyant* que Zercâ-el-Yemâma"—ابصر من زرقاء اليمامة. For the benefit of those who do not understand French, I quote below the above story as given by Chenery in his excellent translation of the Makámát Hariri (vol. I, p. 381):—

"It (blueness of eyes) seems to have been connected with

the idea of a piercing sight in the legend of 'Auzal Yemamah, commonly called Zarká 'l Yemámah, the first woman who used *Kohl*. She was a woman of the primeval tribe of Jedis, and when Jedis had destroyed the tribe of Tasm, all but Ribâh bin Murra, this solitary survivor fled to Hassán ibn Tobbá, King of Yemen, and sought vengeance on Jedis. The Himyarite army set forth, and in order that its numbers might be concealed from Jedis, the king commanded that each soldier should cut down the bough of a tree and bear it before him. This is, perhaps, the original of the story in Macbeth. Zarka ascended an أُطُم a fortress or tower, and though the army was three days' march distant, she saw it, and called out, "O people either trees or Himyar are coming against you." They would not believe her, and she then exclaimed, in the metre *rejiz*:—I swear by God that trees creep onward, or Himyar bears something which he draws along. She then described that she saw a man mending his sandal. The tribe still disbelieved, and in the end were surprised and destroyed. The legend is told in various ways: cf. proverb "More keen-sighted than Zarka'l Yemámeh; Ar. Prov. 192."

The same story is given in Sherisi's (of Xeresin Spain) commentary of the Makamát Hariri (50th Makámah, vol. II, p. 350, Egypt ed.):—

اما الزرقاء فكانت تبصر على مسيرة ثلث ليال وكانت من جديس * * *
وهوب من طسم رباح بن مرة فاتى حسان بن تبع لينصره * * * فتجهزمعه
بجيش فلمّا صاروا من جديس على ثلثة ايام صعدت الزرقاء على منار كان لها
لتنظر الجيش وكان رباح قد قال لهم ان الزرقاء تبصر على ثلث ليال ولكن ليقطع
كل رجل منكم غصناً من شجر فيحمله لتشبهه عليها فلما رأتهم قالت قوم اتتكم
الشجر * او اتتكم حمير. فلم يصدقوها فقالت.

اقسم بالله لقد دب الشجـــر
او حمير قد اقبلت شيأ تجـــر

وكذبوها وقالوا كلّ بصرك وضعف * * * فتنها ونوا بحديثها حتى صبحهم
حسان فاجتاحهم فاخذت الزرقاء فشق عيناها فاذا فيها عروق سود من الإثمد
وكانت اول من اكتحل.

Of all the plays of Shakespeare the *Merchant of Venice* had certainly an eastern origin. About the Bond Story Mr. Deighton says that an apologue in the Máhábhárata turns upon a similar point. But I see no resemblance between the Bond Story and the Story of Sibi Raja, Indra and Agni con-

tained in the Máhábhárata beyond the fact that Sibi ransomed Agni who had assumed the form of a pigeon and was pursued by Indra in the form of an Eagle by giving Indra the pigeon's weight of flesh from his own body.

The exact anologue to the Bond Story of the Merchant of Venice occurs in a book called *al-Faraja ba'dásh shiddah*—ease after difficulty—by Kazi Abu Ali at-Tanukhi. I do not know exactly when the author flourished, but there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the book. The author of the Jami-ul-Hikáyát, Muhammad 'Ufi, mentions الفرج بعد الشدة as one of the sources of his history. He resided under Altamsh (A. H. 607, A. D. 1211).* Again there is an allusion to this book in one of the *Makámáhs* of al-Hariri (b. 1054, d. 1121 A. D). The contents of this work has been discussed at length at p. 254 of the Cat. Lugd. Batavi, vol. I.

If I remember right a writer in the *Athenæum* gave a translation of the story as contained in the Turkish version of the book and tried to show the possibility of the story being transported from Turkey to Venice on account of the maritime intercourse between Turkey and Venice in those days. Unfortunately the Arabic original is not accessible to me, and I content myself by quoting below the story as given in a Persian book of wit and humour :—

"A man named Fareed had a beautiful wife with whom a Jew was in love. The husband being poor and without any occupation, remained for the most part in his house, and the Jew could not get any opportunity of laying siege to the affections of his wife. So the Jew began to devise means of getting the husband away from the city, and accordingly one day said to him, 'my friend, why do you remain idle here? Why do you not travel in order to become a successful trader? The little money that I have acquired was by travelling from place to place, bartering the commodity of one place for that of another, and so on.' The husband replied, "it is all very well to say so, but you know trading requires money. And who is going to lend me the money necessary for the purpose?" The Jew hereupon good-naturedly offered to accommodate him, saying, "I will lend you gold weighing one hundred *miscáls*, on the condition that you return it to me on the very first day of your return to town from your journey." "But what security can I give to you?" asked Fareed. "None whatsoever do I need, but for form's sake, what say you to a hundred *miscáls* of your flesh, which, on your feeling to make the payment, I should be at liberty to cut off from your body?" The condition was agreed upon

* Elliot, vol. II, p. 156.

and Fareed with the money in his pocket left the town with the view of seeing the different commercial centres. On the road he was attacked by robbers, who stripped him of every thing valuable that he possessed and so he was obliged to return, almost nacked, to the town. The Jew was very much vexed on seeing him back in so short a time, and demanded back his money. As Fareed had absolutely nothing and could not comply with the demand, he said: "Let us go to the Kázee, and let him decide on this matter." So the two took their way towads the Court of the Kázee.

On the road, they heard a donkey-driver asking for help, as his ass had fallen into a pit, whence he was not able to take him out without the help of others. Fareed good-naturedly offered to help him, and while the owner took hold of the head of the ass, Fareed took hold of the tail, and the two began to pull when suddenly the tail of the animal came off in the hands of Fareed. The owner of the ass thereupon began to quarrel with him, and said, "come with me to the Kázee. You must pay me damages." So the three now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

But as the Kázee's Court was situated at some distance, and as it was already night-fall, they determined to put up in a mosque for the night. Fareed was locked up in the mosque and the other two kept guard outside the gate. When it was near dawn, Fareed got up and going to the terrace on the hind part of the building, jumped down, and came plump on the head of a Fakir who was sleeping at the foot of the walls. The Fakir was killed. His son got up and laying hold of Fareed, charged him with the murder. The noise brought the other two persons who were near the gate, and so the four now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

During the walk Fareed said to himself, "I wish the Court were soon reached; for I am afraid, the longer I am on the road the more will be the mishaps befalling. I had better move on with a quicker pace." And with this determination he walked faster, followed by his prosecutors. But on taking a turning at the end of a lane, he collided with a pregnant woman, who fell down with the shock, and miscarried. The husband of the woman caught hold of him and accused him of killing the child, and the five now took their way to the Court of the Kázee.

The Court was at last reached. The Kázee was in his private chambers, and so they all had to wait outside the room, but after a time Fareed getting afraid of another mishap entered the room alone. He found the Kázee drinking *wine*, and so he stood quiet for some time and then coughed to attract the attention of the Kázee. The latter turned with a start, and

asked him what he wanted, saying: "How long have you been here and what did you notice?" Fareed discreetly replied that he had merely seen the Kázee drinking *sherbet* (emphasizing the last word), and then related to him his adventures. "Well, well," said the Kázee, "we shall see justice done to you." They then came into the Court and the Kázee after taking his seat, asked the men what were their complaints.

First came the Jew who claimed his 100 *miscáls* of flesh. The Kázee told him to cut it off but *neither more nor less than* the 100 *miscáls*, otherwise he would have to undergo penalty of being bled to death. The Jew on hearing this decision of the Kázee wanted to withdraw his complaint, but this the Kázee would not allow, saying "You ought to have thought of that before hand. You have needlessly put this man to a deal of trouble, and as a penalty you must lay down here one hundred *dinárs*. Only then I can allow you to go." So the Jew laid down his 100 *dinárs* and departed.

Next came the Son of the Fakeer who charged Fareed with the death of his father. The Kázee said: "You must take his life in return. Kill him in the same way that he killed your father,—by jumping down on him from the terrace." "But I might get killed myself, jumping down from such a height!", urged the young Fakeer. "I can't help that!" said the Kázee. The Fakeer then wanted to withdraw his complaint, but he was not allowed to do so till he had laid down 100 *dinárs*.

The husband of the woman now laid his complaint and charged the accused with the death of his child. The Kázee said to him, "It is but proper that the man should restore you the young life that he has taken. I therefore order that you should divorce your wife, and give her to this man in marriage. When she is again with child, he shall then divorce her, and you can take her back." So the husband too withdrew his complaint laying down 100 *dinárs*.

The owner of the donkey had meanwhile slunk away unperceived, saying, as he went, to the attendants in the antechamber, that as he had not the sum necessary for withdrawing his complaint, he was going to bring witnesses to prove that his ass had never a tail!

When the Kázee saw that there was no further complaint against Fareed, he released him, giving him as a compensation for his troubles, 100 *dinárs* out of the sum received.

A similar story, with slight variations, occurs in the famous and interesting autobiography of Lutfulla.* Although it is

* "Autobiography of Lutfulla," edited by E. B. Eastwick, F.R.S. (1857), pp. 154-164.

very tedious to relate the same sort of story over again in detail, but seeing that it will serve as a good specimen of oriental wit and humour, I quote the story in full as follows.

As civilization began to dawn in the third century of our blessed Prophet, about the time of Edward II, the Martyr King of England, Asiatic fables mention that there was a Kázee (or Judge) in the city of Cario, by name Mansúr Bin Músiá.

His affection for humility was so great that he even made a ridiculous alteration in his name by dividing it into several monosyllabes, and substituting words of humbler meaning, of which he compounded a new name. It being Man Súr Bin Mú Siá (*lit.* Victor, son of Moses), he divided it into the following five syllables:—

Syllables of the original name.	Meaning.	Substitutes.	Meaning.
Man	Name of a heavy weight consisting of 40 lbs., or two Ratals	Ratal	Pound
Súr	A large trumpet	Búk	Small bugle
Bin	Son	Abd-al	Slave
Mú	Hair	Pashm	Wool
Siá	Thirty (in Persian)	Páuzdah	Fifteen

So the third column forms his name, "Ratal Buk Abd-al Pashm Páuzdah," Small-Weight-Penny-Whistle Slave-of-Wool-Fifteen, instead of Heavy-Weight-Trumpet-Son-of-Hair-Thirty.

During the time of this extraordinary functionary of justice, there lived a military man in poor circumstances, who had a very pretty young wife; also in his neighbourhood resided a wealthy Jew, naturally characterised by his habits of extreme usuriousness, unbounded meanness, and greediness. This son of Israel having more than once clandestinely obtained a full view of the incomparable wife of his poor neighbour, conceived a passion for her, and to this degree that, having lost the command of his heart, he impatiently watched an opportunity to seduce her. He tried every means to accomplish his criminal desire, but invariably failed; for a mind once properly fortified with virtue, can never be conquered by vice. The poor veteran being without employment for a long time, had been so overtaken by indigence, that he and his wife actually starved sometimes for two or three days. The pangs of poverty at last, being insufferable, the wife suggested a plan to the husband of bettering themselves, telling him that idling was the source of all miseries; and he must therefore buy a hatchet and ropes and repairing daily to the forest bring a bundle of fire-wood,

which certainly would sell for something. On the other hand, she would take to her needle, and thus they would try to make themselves as comfortable as possible in the world.

The man approved of her suggestions; but said he to her in a submissive tone, "I extol your plan highly, but I find it even difficult to procure the preliminary means to begin. At least a hundred *dirhams* are needed to purchase some linen and silk for your needle and a hatched and rope for me." To this the wife replied that the sum might easily be borrowed, and the Hebrew neighbour would certainly lend it if a prospect of good interest was held out to him. The soldier thought the matter over, but demarred at going to the mean Jew to solicit his aid. "No," said he to himself, "I would rather starve to death than be scornfully looked upon by a faithless Jew." But again he thought he must submit to the dishonour rather than see his lovely wife on the verge of the grave. So with mingled fear and hope, he betook himself to the Jew, to whom he represented his case in his soldier-like sincere but unpolished language. The Hebrew was delighted to think that he had nearly won the game, and that by sacrificing a piece, he would certainly circumvent the queen.

So at first he impressed upon the mind of his customer the importance of money in the world. He then said he was very sorry that he had no money of his own to lend him; at the same time he could not deny having certain small sums in his house, but he dared not touch them for his life, "they being," observed he, "the deposits of other individuals of power and authority."

"Then am I to return disappointed?" asked the veteran. "I cannot help it," returned the Jew; "I will not stake my life and property for others; so pray begone, and never trouble me again with such affairs." "Don't be angry," added he, "but suppose I lend you from the deposit which I am obliged to produce to the depositor for his satisfaction after two months from this day, and suppose I cannot do so, do you think my head will remain on my shoulders?" "But it will not be in any way jeoparded," rejoined the veteran, "if I promise to pay you back in seven weeks." "But how can I believe you?," quoth the Jew; "what security can you afford?" "As for security I can offer you none," replied the poor man; "but I can assure you that I shall be punctual, and I can attach my signature to any penal bond you may be pleased to draw out." "Very well," said the Jew; "then in that case, will you engage, as a matter of mere form of course, to give a pound of your flesh from your body in case you fail to fulfil your promise?"

"With all my heart," rejoined the poor man, considering that he and his wife would work night and day and he would certain-

ly be able to liquidate the debt before the time prescribed. Upon this understanding the bond was formally written out, attested, signed, and delivered, and the money paid to the poor man. On the other hand the Jew was happy in thinking over the matter: "The bait," said he to himself, "is swallowed, and I must have patience for seven weeks when the game will be won." On further consideration he bethought himself that in the case of the man's being able to produce the amount at the time promised, which appeared to him more than probable he would manage to steal a part of the good coins and mix up some counterfeit over in their place; and thus he might easily render him unable to pay the debt, and, besides, might accuse him of cheating. So the horror of such criminal charges being brought to the notice of the Court of Justice, and the impossibility of his submitting to be maimed, could certainly cause the tree of his hope to be fruitful of success.

As for the poor veteran, he, on the receipt of the sum of money, purchased the materials of industry for his consort and himself; he also bought some provisions and necessaries of life for the time being, and both of them set to work to release themselves from the torturing chains of poverty. They strained every nerve in working to make up the amount within the given time; but so far from it, they could not even save half the money required. When the time was finished, the Jew made his unwelcome appearance, seated himself, at the door of the poor man, and in most violent terms demanded payment. The poor veteran entreated him humbly, soliciting forgiveness, and telling him he was very sorry that all his labours to make up the sum were fruitless, and begged him to accept very nearly half the amount in ready cash and to grant him more time for the remainder; if not, he might take the money and the materials by selling which he might get something more than what he demanded. These supplications, instead of doing good, provoked the Jew's indingnation, and he angrily shouted "frivolous excuses will not do with me; the time agreed upon has expired, so be brief; remember the penalty written down by yourself, therefore produce the money or prepare to stand the consequences." Upon this, the argumentation on both sides being carried on for sometime terminated in a regular scuffle, and the Jew getting the better of the poor man, caught hold of his collar and dragged him towards the Court of Justice, but the poor man releasing himself somehow or other from his grasp, took to flight and the Jew followed him. In swiftly crossing the first street, he came on a sudden in contact with a pregnant women, who, being knocked down, unfortunately miscarried; and a relative of hers seeing this breach of manners followed to apprehend him. A little further,

a horseman was standing in his way; he struck the horse to clear the road, and the blow unluckily put out one of the horse's eyes. This enraged the horseman, who likewise accompanied the two pursuers to catch the man and hold him responsible for the loss. The poor man by his quick turns and swiftness, got out of the city, leaving his followers some distance behind; and seeing a stone quarry in front he determined to leap into it and hide himself. With this resolve exclaiming "Bismillah" (in the name of God), down he jumped. Now, where he leaped, there was a shed, under which an old man was lying; and as he precipitated himself down upon the shed its weak rafters gave way, and he, coming down upon the old man, not only killed him, but sprained his legs and hurt himself so much that he could move no further until his pursuers joined by the old man's son, whom he had accidentally killed, came up and seized him. They beat him soundly, and tying his hands behind him dragged him to the Court of the Kázee Ratalbuk. As the culprit reached the Kázee's gate, he beheld some shops wherein forbidden liquors were publicly sold, and an old reverend gentleman with a long white beard staggering about shamefully intoxicated. Presently there passed a living man tied in a bier and carried to the graveyard to be buried alive, his lamentable shrieks being utterly disregarded by the remorseless bearers. The sight of these horrid scene enacted at the Kázee's gate, and evidently by his decree, filled the poor soldier with terrific forebodings.

He was soon, however, dragged to the Court, and trembled at the sight of the Kázee, whom he positively looked upon as a deputy of the angel of death. In the middle of the hall was a cushion backed with a large pillow, upon which squatted a diminutive fat person with a very small head and long black beard. He held a rosary in his hand, and kept moving his head in token of assent and dissent to the assertions of the persons about him; and a few peons stood here and there in respectful postures, with instrument of torture in their hands. The new parties, being conducted to the edge of the carpet, were struck with awe and stood trembling. The charges made by the Jew, the relative of the pregnant woman, the owner of the horse, and the son of the old man were then taken down by the clerk As for the soldier he told his unvarnished tale, adding, at the same time, that he had been very severely maltreated by his adversaries subsequent to his apprehension.

The matter then was thoroughly discussed by the lawyers in presence of the Kázee who listened with profound gravity to the arguments on both sides, and ultimately pronounced sentence as follows: "Let a sharp knife, a pair of scales and weights be brought forward and let the peons seize and hold

fast the soldier. Jew, there is a knife, cut off the man's flesh who has only himself to belame for having so foolishly signed the bond." The Jew gladly took the knife in his hand, thinking that he would have the merit of inflicting a mortal wound upon an enemy of his faith, whose wife would then fall an easy prey. Just as he was going to lay his hand upon the poor man the Kázee called out, "Hearken to me before you use the knife; the pound must be exactly one pound of flesh, without any skin or bone, etc., and you must sever it from his body in one cut, no additional torture to the man by plurality of cuts having been agreed upon in the bond. You must, therefore, neither exceed nor come short of one pound; if you do, you must abide by the law of retribution according to the sacred Kurán." The Jew hearing all this clearly saw the impossibility of the act being performed without endangering himself, offered to give up his claim. Upon this, the Kázee imposed a fine of five pieces of silver on him for his unreasonable prosecution and dismissed him.

The Kázee then maturely weighed and considered the case of the pregnant woman and gave his decision as follows: "Let the woman he made over to the defendant, who must first employ a good physician to cure her, after her recovery must keep her with him in his own house until she is in the family way, and then she must honourably be restored to her former husband." The plaintiff, shocked at this sentence, begged to give up his suit if such were justice. But the Kázee observed he should not be permitted to do this unless he paid a fine of ten pieces of silver to the Court for having taken up its time.

The horse man next being summoned, his urged claim, stating that only a short time ago he had, by a very cheap bargain, purchased his noble horse for two hundred pieces of gold; and it has been seriously damaged by the loss of its eye, "so that the whole price," represented he, "should be paid me, when the soldier may take the animal, or compensate me, for the blemish by paying a moiety of its value."

Upon this his lordship duly considered his case and decreed as follows:—"Let a pair of sawyers be sent for to divide the horse longitudinally from the middle point of his head to the end of his tail; and this being done, the uninjured part shall be retained by the complainant, and the part with the injured eye be given to the defendant who must pay one hundred pieces of gold, being one-half the price, to the plaintiff, as compensation for the damage." The owner of the horse, seeing that the loss of his animal would be greater than the compensation, begged to withdraw his claim which was granted to him with some difficulty on his agreeing to pay a fine of twenty pieces of silver to the Court.

: Lastly, the son of the poor old man appeared, throwing dust over his head for the unnatural death of his venerable father, the cause of which sworn was the rascally veteran's fall upon him, and therefore in justice he would have him impaled for the crime.

His lordship heard coolly all his excited statements, and what was said on the part of the prosecution, and on that of the defence, and weighing everything in the scales of his judgment pronounced the following sentence:—"Let the offender be dragged to the place of shedding blood, upon which, with hands and feet tied, let him be placed at the identical spot where the old man was killed, and his son jump down upon him from the battlements of the fortress in revenge for his father's death." Hereupon the young man, foreseeing the danger of the undertaking, refused to execute the ordered, offering to relinquish the claim to retribute his father's death to an accident; but his lordship replied that he would not allow the precepts of the law to be disregarded, or the claim to be abandoned unless he paid a fine of forty pieces of silver to the Court for his folly in making an unbecoming charge. The young man then paid the fine and went off considering himself lucky in getting out of the scrape.

The hour of noon prayers by this time having arrived, the Court was cleared, and the Kázee having compassion upon the veteran, bestowed on him a handsome present and enquired if he was satisfied with the proceedings of the Court. The poor man in reply praised the Kázee's justice, and said, "God bless you, my lord; I am entirely satisfied; and my acknowledgments to your lordship during the remainder of my life shall be unceasing."

Having said this, he began to leave his lordship's presence with some hesitation, which being observed by the judge, he asked him if he had anything to say; and the veteran answered he had something to represent, but it being beyond the bounds of respect, he would not do so unless permission were granted. "You should not be backward," observed his lordship, "in satisfying yourself about the law; for if you leave the Court in suspence respecting any verdict, it may cause others to be misled, and the mischief may become too serious to be remedied." The veteran then humbly stated that he could not reconcile with his lordship's fair justice the forbidden liquor being openly sold at the gate of the Court where he found a venerable man drunk, nor the fact of a living man being carried to the grave. "I am glad," returned the Kázee, "that you have asked me these questions, as my answers to them will quiet your conscience. Pray harken unto me with attention. The liquors privately sold are adul-

terated with poisonous substance by the sellers to strengthen their effects, and have consequently proved injurious to purchasers who require strong drink as medicine, or as a narcotic for mental labour. Drinking is a crime certainly punishable by my blessed law; but the same law strictly observes that forbidden things are lawful in cases of necessity; so that by my toleration I have abolished a heinous crime, and have appointed a venerable man, of unquestionable honesty, to test the spirits that are brought here for sale, and the tasting, which is his lawful duty, may have disguised him a little. As to the person carried alive to the grave, that has been legally ordered by me, because six years ago his wife had been married to another man according to the decree of the law, two witnesses of a very respectable character having certified his death at Bagdad. The man, however, came before the Court this morning, pleading that he was not dead, and advancing his claim to recover his wife. I ordered the two witnesses to re-appear, and they proved beyond doubt, by other evidences, that they had attended his funeral at Bagdad where he was buried in their presence. From this circumstance it is easy to conclude that the man cannot be a real one, but the ghost of the former, and must therefore be laid to put an end to all future disputes respecting the woman." The veteran upon this, dissembling his misgivings, praised the Kázee's justice and retired.

ABDULLAH A. SOHRAWORTHY.

THE QUARTER.

SINCE our last issue a new century has dawned on us with several calamities to record, of which the principal must be reckoned the death of our beloved Queen Victoria. Her health had not been quite good lately, but the fact was carefully concealed, it would seem at her own request not to cause anxiety. The recrudescence of trouble in South Africa was felt severely by her; and almost the last public act she performed was to receive Lord Roberts on his return from the seat of war, and announce to him her giving him the Order of the Garter and raising him to the dignity of an Earl. Her funeral was a military one at her own request, most of the Courts of Europe being represented at it. The pageant was excessively grand and long-drawn-out, including London, the Solent through the assembled fleet, and Windsor, at which last place her remains were buried beside the late Prince Consort's at Frogmore. The proclamation of the new King, who took the title of Edward VII, followed immediately. Subsequently in this country he was also proclaimed Emperor of India.

China still occupies the chief attention of the world in foreign matters. After long-drawn-out negotiations certain points had been settled. By the latest advices, however, China refuses to do exactly what the Powers tell her, and has even again made an attack on Russia. Probably a great deal of the blame lies on Germany, and her Commander-in-Chief, Count Waldersee. The Emperor of Germany has shown an eagerness and vindictiveness in dealing with China quite in contrast to his behaviour in the matter of the Armenian massacres, when not a sword need have been drawn or a shot fired to coerce Turkey. Count Waldersee, too, however able he may be as a military tactician on a European field of war, seems to be entirely out of place in China. The Russian forces were always independent of his leading, as also the troops of the United States, but the Japanese, too, have since kept to themselves, and the French have openly disavowed his orders. All this cannot but be so. It seems now that he is meditating an extraordinary incursion 800 miles into the interior to the new capital Singan-fu, and offers the chief command to our own British General. We can only trust that Germany will not be allowed to make a cat's-paw of England to draw the chestnuts out of the fire for herself. The complication promises to be a most serious one, as, while England

could never have reckoned on Russia and France, by her following the lead of Germany she is alienating both the United States and Japan. An alliance, whether tacit or expressed, with Germany in Chinese matters may cost us too dear, and we in India cannot but be deeply interested in the question.

While, therefore, we have lost our beloved Queen at Home, and political complications of a most serious nature are threatened in China, a further calamity as we must view it has befallen us in South Africa. Lord Roberts may have made paper annexations of the Free State and the Transvaal, and left South Africa as he concluded with the military power of the Boers completely broken, but, as a matter of fact, we only held the country within the limited range of our guns, and the Boer Commanders Botha, De Wet, De LaRey and others were still in the field with thousands of desperate veteran soldiers operating in every direction. It was supposed that the forces we had in the field were sufficient to deal with them and bring the war to a speedy end. But—and this is the calamity we refer to—these Boer Generals have not only succeeded in inflicting repeated losses on our unsupported detachments, but have invaded Cape Colony to within only a few miles of Cape Town itself, destroying all the communications. As a necessary consequence, notwithstanding our large forces in the field, a call has been made for further reinforcements. This whole disastrous war might have been avoided had the Home Government, as was suggested to it, sent out Lord Dufferin with full powers at the beginning. As it is, were the Cape Dutch to rise in a body, and show the same grit, pluck, and back-bone the Boers have evinced, all reinforcements notwithstanding, South Africa is lost to England. It may not be yet too late to extend the olive branch, and that Kruger asks for is a modified and innocuous autonomy which we may safely, and even gracefully, grant. The Crown Rule, and after that "Crown Colony" Government, with their *doctrinaire* theories, inapplicable to the Boer race, and entertained only by people at a distance and who know nothing about them. Such theories will only eventuate in what is carried out, in that "worse Ireland in South Africa" dictated by Mr. Morley; in bitter and everlasting hatred, and in vast military expense for a large garrison to suppress rebellions. The Boers, if understood, are as easy to handle as any, but it wont be by ignoring the past conduct or the clashing and committed interests of the two parties of South Africa. We may note, in connection with our remarks, that President Kruger is now in Europe. The populace in France

Germany have been enthusiastical for him. The President of France and the Queen of Holland have accorded him visits, while the German Emperor, whose support of Kruger is known to have begun these troubles, backed out of seeing him even, as he well might. None of the Powers can give him any hope of inteference in the quarrel, and will not even venture to mediate. The Russian Czar, lying nearly at death's door through illness, was also unable to see him. It is stated that he might visit the United States. In any case, he has made it public that the Boers only seek a disarmed, and modified, independence. It is a confession of defeat, and such independence it lies in our power easily to grant, thus obviating all those numerous dangers and evils we have referred to above.

Of other countries, martial law has been proclaimed in Spain, and there is a famine over an extensive portion of Siberia.

Coming to our own English-speaking countries, the result of the elections in the United States is that President McInley is in for a further term. His opponent, Mr. Bryan, with his silver theories, had not the shadow of a chance. The war of annexation in the Philippine Islands is still being carried out and Aqnmaldo remains unsubdued. He is proposing terms which seem possible to be accepted as a basis of peace, the only difference being that America is disinclined to give back Manilla, or to yield up the control of the Customs. All over the world, wherever we view it, peace seems to be essentially necessary.

Our own Elections at Home have resulted, as was anticipated, in a "Khaki" victory for the Ministerialists. Great dissatisfaction had been expressed against the *personnel* of the Cabinet, chiefly on account of the bungle of the South African War. A call was made by their own party for numerous changes and younger blood. Lord Salisbury accordingly transferred the Foreign portfolio to Lord Lansdowne, retaining the Premiership for himself, put in Mr. Brodrick as head of the War Office, Mr. Wyndham as Chief Secretary for Ireland, as some trouble again seems to be brewing, besides other minor changes. This has not satisfied the party,

has assumed the Command-in-Chief.

world-wide one; but owing to the state of uncertainty, all round, the ship of state is as, and there are even breakers in sight, se in charge to recognise the situation short, statesmen and not mere opportu-

tralia has been Federated into a d Hopetown for its first Governor-

General and the Right Hon'ble Edmund Barton, P.C., Q.C., of Sydney, as its first Premier. The occasion was celebrated on New Year's Day with great rejoicings and numerous pageants, in which were represented some portions of our Indian army. An Australian poet, Mr. George Essex Evans, of Queensland, has given utterance to such finely-poetic and inspired lines that we enshrine them here :—

THE FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA.

A Federal Song, 1900.

In the grayness of the dawning we have seen the pilot star,
In the whisper of the morning we have heard the years afar.
Shall we sleep and let them be
When they call to you and me?
Can we break the land asunder God has girdled with the sea?
For the flag is floating o'er us,
And the track is clear before us.
From the desert to the ocean let us lift the mighty chorus
For the days that are to be.

We [illegible] the challenge forward. Brothers, stand or fall as one!
[illegible] to meet us in the splendour of the sun,
[illegible] beneath the sky,
[illegible] nameless heroes lie.
[illegible] Nations of the Future they are waiting our reply.
We can face the roughest weather,
If we only hold together,
Marching forward to the Future, marching shoulder-firm together,
For the Nation yet to be.

All the grayness of the dawning, all the mists are overpast,
In the glory of the morning we shall see Her face at last.
He who sang, "She yet will be,"
He shall hail her, crowned and free,
And we break the land asunder God has girdled with the sea.
For the Flag is floating o'er us,
And the Star of Hope before us,
From the desert to the ocean, brothers, lift the mighty chorus,
For Australian Unity.

As a fitting *finale* to the above, we may add, that the new Premier has at once brought in a bill to exclude Asiatics from Australia, and to raise the tariff as against all round. "Advance Australia!"

India.—The Queen-Empress's Death.—Turning to India we find that a great variety of matters, all of considerable importance, mark the period of review. We have to give the first place here to the death of the Queen-Empress, the universal feelings of loyalty spontaneously evoked by the sad event, and the steps taken by the Viceroy and the public to erect a fitting Memorial to mark the most glorious and beneficent reign in Indian history. As at Home, so here, the news of the illness and the subsequent decease followed so rapidly one on the other, that it took some time

to realize the great loss the nation had sustained. from was mourning throughout the land among all classes after creeds, the Mahomedans vying with the Hindus in largess to to the poor and religious services. The Queen-Empress ving indeed been a friend of India—a view of a particular side ean her noble character and fulfilment of her high trust w ted remains to be depicted by a worthy pen—and it was det nd mined to erect a suitable Memorial to mark her reign. to

THE IMPERIAL MEMORIAL.—The Viceroy led the move well, and calling for a public meeting at Calcutta gave expre Many. to the views he took on the subject in an impressive sp is ad- He would erect a building on a corner of the great Esplanment to contain such relics and remains of the past history of Ines, as might be procured by donation or purchase. Lord Curzo is known to be a keen antiquarian and student of archæology, t and his proposal showed the bent of his mind. As the Memoe rial would be in Calcutta, and beautify it as well as add to its importance, it took well with the Calcutta community. Immediate success was also apparent to the scheme when the leading Native Princes of India, in response to the Viceroy's call for a National Imperial Memorial, came forward so liberally as to astonish even the Viceroy himself. The Maharajah of Kashmir offered fifteen lakhs, the Maharajah of Gwalior ten lakhs, the Maharajah of Jeypur seven lakhs—of which, however, four lakhs were to be added to his previous well-considered munificent donation of sixteen lakhs for a Famine Fund—a lot so on. The local and provincial contributions, too, were liberal though as compared to the donations of the Princes. to

Lord however, did not meet with the support of the outside important provinces and governments for his Calcutta Bombay, Allahabad, Lahore and Madras, each consider Calcutta's claim to have the Memorial and take the whole money to be unfair and unjust. It was even suggested, and with considerable force, that Delhi which had memorials of empire of three thousand years, which marked the centre of the continent, which had witnessed during the Mutiny the throes of the birth of the Queen's assumption of the direct government of the country, and subsequently was the selected place of proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, should properly be the site of such an Imperial Memorial. Bombay and Madras, meanwhile, are raising their own subscriptions for their own Memorials, and it may be assumed that very little of their money will find its way to beautify Calcutta or add to its importance, which they consider is due to the adventitious circumstance—which, indeed may be merely temporary,—of its being the seat of the Supreme Government during the brief cold season. The form-

Memorial, too, has been taken to pieces; and it is also
oned whether the Princes can afford to subscribe such
ous amounts. There can be no doubt that most of them
and that some of them would be glad to be rid of the
y of subscribing at all. At the same time, the form of
posed Memorial would be understood by few; while it
a good chance of becoming merely a museum of curiosi-
What will be ultimately decided on as fulfilling the con-
ns of the case, and as implying universal acceptance, it is
ult at present to say; but there can be little doubt that
a Memorial—a Memorial of such a Reign—should be
e, simple, adapted to the genius of the country, calcu-
to last for ages, appealing to high and low alike, and
in the centre of the Empire, or, as in the case of
pillars, which yet last and proclaim the glories of early
Empire three thousand years ago, placed—in *replicas*—
everal local capitals and the boundaries of the Empire.
n conception of the Memorial appertains to the region
f high Art—and Nature—we are inclined to think that, being
lready provided with the funds, protests notwithstanding,
Lord Curzon will carry his point, and his own scheme will be
ompleted in Calcutta.

VICEREGAL TOUR.—Since our last date the "Simla Season"
s come to its close, scattering its jaded, weary, and over-
rked high officials over the plains for pleasure jaunts through
provinces for a couple months previous to their re-assem-
g together again in Calcutta. Combining business with
asure, after a shooting excursion on the lofty hills of
umba, the Viceroy has made a tour of the Western States
Gujarat, paid a visit to the Portuguese Settlement of Goa,
d after visiting Cochin, Travancore, Mysore and Madras in
cession, returned to Calcutta by the East Coast Railway
ly made over in sections to the Madras Railway Company
l the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company. The usual num-
r of speeches were made at the different Native Courts, good
vice deftly given, and definite promises avoided—this last
ecially to the representations of public bodies and associa-
ns in our own territory. A visit was also paid to the
ysore Gold-fields. His amiable and gentle consort, who has
on high praise in India, accompanied him through the most
rt of the journey. India is likely to lose her presence shortly,
she returns home; but we trust it is only for a brief period,
d in this we echo only the universal voice of the country,
well for herself, for India, and for the Viceroy who is apt
e officially "troubled about many things," (like Martha of
), and hence needs some corrective in domesticity and home
The babies are the "angels" who really govern and rule
world, and keep it straight.

SIR A. HAVELOCK AND LORD AMPTHILL.—Descendi
Viceroys to Governors, Sir Arthur Havelock has retire
a quiet and unassuming, patient and strenuous, devo
the duties of his high office as Governor of Madras
place to Lord Ampthill, the son of the well-known E
diplomat Lord Odo Russell. Lord Ampthill has already
a very favourable impression, and exhibits all the ta
resource of his clever and able father. He yet rema
"prove" himself, but we believe he will acquit himself
and be an acquisition to the Southern Presidency.
things of even imperial importance demand his strenuo
vocacy and attentions, such as a just and due apportio
of the provincial as distinguished from the imperial re
irrigation schemes, and others, and it is within his r
make his mark as a high and broad-viewed statesman—
a mere successful administrator—even in India. As we
his arrival, we also wish him every success. His two
speeches, one on the occasion of unveiling the statue raised
by public subscription to the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller, Princi
pal of the Madras Christian College, and the other whe
inaugurating a Madras Memorial scheme for the late Queen-
Empress, were both excellent—indeed, could not have been
better, and he has already gone a long way to win the affec
tions as well as the respect of all classes of the forty or fif
millions of people he has been set over to rule and lead.
us add here, that the raising of the statue referred to is
only a testimony to the unselfish labours of a generation,
the high character of the reverend missionary, but speaks
the advanced sentiment and progress of the native community
Such a Memorial, raised principally by non-Christian native
would have been impossible in any other part of India, exce
perhaps in Bombay, though the Parsees there have "o
grown" since the days of Wilson to whom they owed so mu
And it will be long indeed before Hindu Calcutta will uni
in raising a statue to Alexander Duff and ask the Viceroy t
bless it. Of course, mission work in South India is very muc
older than in Bengal or Bombay. Yet there is something
the character of the South Indian races, less of bigotry, an
more openness and liberality of sentiment, that seems to b
wanting—let us trust only for a time—in the northern, western
and eastern races.

THE FRONTIER PROVINCE AND THE FAMINE COMMISSION
—The period under review has also been marked by two hig
measures of state, both urgently demanded. The N.-W. Fro
tier districts have been separated from the Punjab, and form
into a separate Province under the Government of India; a
a Famine Commission, under the presidency of Sir Anto

Macdonell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, has been going over the country taking evidence. The head-quarters of the new frontier province will be Peshawar, and Colonel Deane has been placed in charge. This consolidation of interests separate from Punjab Proper had long been called for, and does away with much circumlocution where its absence is especially needed. At the same time, Punjab Proper will be less over-weighted with cares foreign to its internal development. A great deal—almost everything—will depend on the officer administering the new province, and we can only trust that Colonel Deane will prove himself the right man in the right place. The credit of his selection lies with Lord Curzon. And here, in passing, we may note that both Lord Curzon and Lord Ampthill are showing much wisdom in following Lord Dalhousie's plan of making the personal acquaintance of subordinate officers in the services. Such intercourse raises the tone of the officers—who are the real rulers in their districts, as well as enables the best men to be seen and found out, and hence is of service to the whole empire, rulers and ruled alike. In the matter of the Famine Commission no better President than Sir Antony Macdonell, who has so distinguished himself by his success in famine operations—not less so during his long career than in other most important lines—could have been found. Essentially a "strong" man—a great virtue in an Indian ruler—his mode of procedure in examining witnesses has been cried out against by "rose-water" people, but the work is a most important one, and we may be sure that Sir Antony will do it well and with thoroughness. It is a pity that men like him, in the prime of their powers, and with the accumulated knowledge and experience of a lifetime, cannot be continued in high office in this country after their term. An example like that of Sir John Lawrence comes only once in a century, and he came only under the influence of panic and after he had actually retired. As a "Deputy"-Viceroy the charge of minor provinces, as Assam, the Central Provinces, and others—the interests of which are hardly supervised now personally by the Viceroy—it is simply impossible to do it—and are consequently neglected, might be conferred on such an high officer, and the services of men like Sir Antony retained in the country to its great advantage. Even Burmah—which some consider should be separated from India and united with the Straits Settlements into a separate Government—which has only lately changed from a Chief Commissionership into a Lieutenant-Governorship, suffers from this want of direct personal supervision of the Viceroy. India has indeed outgrown its bounds and is double the extent it was half a century ago, and some recasting of the moulds of Gov-

ernment may be necessary in the interests both of the empire, and the holders of the very highest offices. Orissa and Chota-Nagpur may well be taken away from Bengal, and the Central Provinces made less unwieldy. But this is another subject, though related to the alteration or creation of new high offices, and the relief of the Viceroy, as well as the betterment of governments.

NATIVE PRINCES.—Of these India has to regret the death of the "sporting" Maharajah of Patiala, one of the leading Sikh Princes. His stables were the best in India, and he spent a fortune on them. His personal expenses, too, were quite lavish; and he never troubled himself with the cares of his state. He married, among others, a European wife, but she died before him. It is reported among natives that he died of a broken heart owing to a rebuff he received from the Viceroy. He died comparatively young. The land on which Simla now stands was a gift of the Patiala State.

The Gaekwar of Baroda, the leading Prince of Western India, has returned from his travels abroad, let us trust with considerable added knowledge. At all events, he has shown a "new departure" for an Indian Prince. He has contributed an article to the *Century* magazine. When all the Indian Princes begin to write for the Home Magazines, it will be a bad time for less-favoured mortals who now figure as contributors to their pages. The Maharajahs of Gwalior and Jodhpur have also both returned from China, with added experience and knowledge of the extent and resources, as well as the varied responsibilities, of the British Empire. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar, one of the two or three independent Chiefs included in the Bengal division, has also returned after a very prolonged visit to England; and his Maharani, who had stayed behind in India, is now going Home for a term of years to personally attend to the education of her children. There can be little doubt that this example will be more generally followed in the near future by the leading Indian nobility. Finally, in regard to Native Princes, the young Maharajah of Mysore, the leading Prince of South India, has made a trip to British Burmah under the care of his European tutor, and is back.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC MATTERS as affecting India, show a distinct advance during the period. Professor Ramsay, after recommending Bangalore—we should have thought Mount Aboo as possessing a drier climate—for the site of the proposed Tata Research College, delivered an address on Education in Bombay previous to leaving the country. He succeeded in making clear that education as at present pursued in India is not in line with what we find in Germany, France,

America and even England, and foreshadowed, or implied, a beneficial change in the near future, which was capped by Mr. Justice Candy, who presided, making a statement that orders had been received from the Secretary of State at Home not to receive the present Government University Examinations as tests for employment. This will have the effect of considerably reducing the present crowd for University passes. There will be other examinations, under a Civil Service Board —a welcome and much-needed change if real efficiency is to be considered. It may perhaps be in some connection with the above changes, foreshadowed in Professor Ramsay's address, and the action of the Secretary of State, that Lord Curzon, in his speech at Convocation of the Calcutta University, referred to placing educational matters on a better basis. There were also several reforms for the University itself. The following is the summary of his speech as received by wire :—

"Important suggestions for University reform were put forward by the Viceroy in the course of the speech he delivered to-day, on the occasion of the Convocation of the Calcutta University, of which he is Chancellor. These suggestions are ones which His Excellency is inclined to support, but regarding which his mind is still open. They include proposals that academic distinction should be required as a qualification for Fellowship of Indian as of Home Universities; that Fellows should retain their votes only so long as they are resident upon the spot, and consequently able to take an active interest in the institution; also that fresh life should be constantly infused by making Fellowships terminable after a period of years, the holders, however, to be eligible for re-appointment. Lord Curzon further explained that he had abstained from filling more than a small proportion of vacancies which had occurred amongst Fellows since he became Chancellor, owing to the unwieldy size of the body, which now included some 180 members. He also referred to the general educational scheme which he had in view, and regarding which he hoped to be able to take the Calcutta University more fully into his confidence next year." Lord Northcote at the Convocation of the Bombay University spoke strongly for technical and agricultural education.

In our obituary list for the Quarter will be found the name of Professor Max Müller, and we have only to name him to show what a loss India has sustained in his death. While recognising this, and towering supreme in generalisations in the Science of Language, he fell very far short of the grammatical learning and accuracy of Bopp and other masters of Sanscrit and Languages in general. At the same time, his generalisations regarding religion, valuable as an intellectual exercise, both

trenched on the claims of Revealed Religion, and were useless for practical effect. Everyone, however, has his place and use in the wide arena of thought and learning, and as such, Max Müller occupied one that was very prominent. The great lucidity of his style was remarkable and, like John Stuart Mill in other subjects, made him so much more read than he would have otherwise been. In generalising about Language he stopped short with the three great families, though dimly seeing an ultimate Unity. To show this Unity we shall need a master who will unite in himself the linguistic ability of a Mezzofanti, the grammatical and comparative powers of a Bopp, and the enthusiasm and generalising faculty of Max Müller. We doubt extremely if such a person—the Newton of the Science of Language—will ever rise. In any case, we may conclude these observations by pointing out, that a close and particular study of Hebrew (Semitic) and Sanscrit (Aryan) radical vocables brings out the remarkable fact, that *words reversed, and implying the same thing, are identical.* That is certainly the first and most important step gained in this great study of Unity of Languages, and may even have some bearing in regard to the question as to the Sanscrit being a natural-grown or a Pandit-elaborated language, and also throw some light Confusion of the Languages at the Tower of Babel. To return :— Orthodox Mahomedans, who do not believe in Aligarh, and consider it unsuited to, and too far off from, Bengal, have held a largely-attended and enthusiastic meeting in Calcutta to establish a College or University of their own, in which the genuine Koran-aroma and traditionary Moslem feeling shall be preserved. Whether so, or not, it is a sign of the progress of the times, and we welcome it. In contact with a learned and tolerant Christianity, and with high western civilisation—some might even say the highest modern metaphysical speculations—Mahomedanism is showing curious and most interesting developments in India at the present time, the most advanced section almost touching the height of Christian truth—we refer to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, of Kadian in the Punjab, who has collected adherents to his semi-Christian teaching even as far south as Madras. We feel assured he will not stop short in his upward progress to "the Light." Meantime, Mr. Theodore Morrison has come forward with a most able paper on the "advanced" Mahomedans, of another class, in the columns of a Home journal. His description of the changes now going on is perfectly accurate. He has also entered into a public controversy in the press regarding the politics of the late Sir Syed Ahmad, and the relations of Mahomedans with the "Congress." This is quite another subject. We have no space at present than to refer to it, and

to add, that Mr. Morrison is imperfectly informed in regard to the late Syed's politics and other matters, including the foundation of the Aligarh College. We may have occasion to clear these up on a future opportunity. A scientific expedition, under Professor Stein, has proceeded from Europe to Khoten in Chinese Central Asia. The object is to examine the remains of ancient buried cities in that direction, which cities, it is pretended, have only just become known. They were referred to nearly forty years ago in the columns of the then *Friend of India* in a leading article which was written, as we happen to know, by an early, and at the time well-known, great Asiatic traveller, who is yet alive, and whom Sir Henry Rawlinson and the late Mr. Bates, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, in vain urged to publish himself. In the same leading article, we may add, the existence of remarkable and prolific gold mines is noted. When these mines are come upon—if they are come upon—it will in like manner be announced as a "new discovery!"

Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta, are announced shortly to publish a selection from the more important speeches of Lord Curzon since his appointment as Viceroy. They deal with a great variety of subjects connected with the administration of India, and will prove a valuable work of reference. We trust it will have as full a "selection" as possible; indeed, for our part, we should wish the work to be as complete as possible, with the full text, of every speech. This may enlarge the book; but in the "selection" much will depend on who makes it. Let us hope nothing essential in regard to Lord Curzon's views, policy, and promises, so abundantly thrown out in his many speeches, will be omitted. Mr. C. E. Buckland, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, has issued the first volume of "Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors," which includes the periods of office with Sir Frederick Halliday in 1854. The second volume will bring the work down to 1897 with Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Mr. Buckland comes of a literary family, and we welcome his work, the more so as it will be a pleasant, as well as useful, reminiscence of the early rulers of Bengal to those who knew them, as we do. We remember Bengal when the Governor-General himself was the Governor of the province, and we met Sir Frederick Halliday in the fifties on the occasion of his first tour into the interior as Lieutenant-Governor, a portly and magnificent presence, accompanied by his thin and tall Secretary Mr. Cecil Beadon, who became afterwards also Lieutenant-Governor. We believe Sir Frederick Halliday still lives, somewhere over ninety years of age.

A number of great prizes, open to all the world, are

announced for competition this year; and as there are several eminent men of science now working in various parts of India, we give the notice due prominence, taking the following extract relating to the prizes from the *London Globe* :—

> The great Nobel prizes are for (1) the most important discovery or invention in the domain of the physical sciences; (2) the most important discovery or improvement in chemistry; (3) the most important discovery in physiology or medicine; (4) the most remarkable literary work in the sense of idealism; (5) to the person who has rendered the greatest service in the cause of international brotherhood by the suppression or reduction of standing armies, or the establishment and furtherance of Peace Congresses. The prizes are open to all the world and to be awarded yearly. The Board of Education have received through the Foreign Office copies of the regulations which they are sending to the Universities, learned societies, libraries, and journals of the United Kingdom. The first competition will be held next [this] year.

Finally, in regard to advances made in science in India we are enabled to state, that the efficacy of Dr. Calmette's antivenin has been conclusively proved in the matter of cobra poison by Doctors Hanna and Lamb, of the Research Laboratory, Bombay, who record in the *Lancet* a case of cobra-poisoning and cure where the identity of the snake was without doubt. As the subject is of the highest scientific interest and the greatest importance in this country, and, besides, we have been furnished with additional especially valuable original matter, which is necessary for everyone to know who has to deal with cases of cobra-poisoning and the employment of the antivenin, by Dr. Hanna,—to whom our acknowledgments are due,—we specially make room not only for the *Lancet* report, which is necessary for a true understanding of the subject, but for Dr. Hanna's Original notes, as well as the *Instruction pour l'emploi du Serum Antivenimeux* issed by the *Institut Pasteur*. We thus furnish a complete and thoroughly reliable guide to all and sundry in regard to cobra-poisoning, and its treatment. The following is the *Lancet* paper (as will be seen from Dr. Hanna's Original notes below, another paper is also promised) by Mr. W. Hanna, M.A., M.B., R.U.I., D.P.H., Cantab., and Mr. George Lamb, M.B., Glasg., Captain, I.M.S., of the Research Laboratory, Bombay :—

"The following record of a case of cobra-poisoning is of interest inasmuch as the identity of the snake was without doubt. All the symptoms were carefully noted from the beginning, and the only treatment employed was the injection of Calmette's antivenine.

"On the 6th October 1900, one of us was assisting in the extraction of poison from a full-sized cobra. Before proceeding to compress the glands in order to expel the poison the operator was clearing away some mucous secretion from the

neighbourhood of the mouth. This was being done with a small piece of cotton-wool held in the naked hand. The snake at the time was firmly held just behind the head in the hand of an experienced native snake-man. By some means or other the snake buried its right fang through the cotton-wool into the point of the operator's right thumb. The thumb was withdrawn practically instantaneously, but, as the after-history will show, not before a considerable quantum of poison had been injected. It is worthy of note that immediately afterwards four large drops of venom were pressed from the left gland, while none was obtained from the gland of the opposite side. As the wound was at first considered to be a trifling one, and as the snake was not believed to have injected any poison, no local treatment was employed except sucking the wound. This was done thoroughly and free bleeding occurred.

"On the advice of Mr. Haffkine, at from 20 minutes to half-an-hour after the bite, 18 cubic centimetres of Calmette's anti-venomous serum were injected, half into each flank. This serum, which was from four to five years old and had been in Bombay as the property of the Bombay Natural History Society for about four years, was the only serum available at the time. It may be stated here that some experiments on rats, made by us some few days previously to the accident here recorded, had shown this serum to have deteriorated to such an extent that it only retained about one-fourth of the neutralising power which Calmette's standardisation had ascribed to it. These experiments, along with others which are at present in progress, will form the subject matter of another communication. About two and a half hours after this dose of serum had been administered some general symptoms of cobra-poisoning referable to the nervous system set in. In chronological order these were as follows. There were first disinclination to work and lethargy, and then followed nausea and vomiting, accompanied by slight paresis of the legs. While these symptoms were still present some fresh serum, dated the 8th May, 1900, was procured. Ten cubic centimetres of this were at once injected into the left flank; that is, about three and a half hours after the bite. Nausea and weakness of the legs continued for some time. From two to three hours, however, after the second dose of serum all symptoms had passed away.

"Locally at the moment of infection there was much pain at the site of the wound. This pain increased and was soon followed by considerable swelling of the whole of the thumb, which in a few hours became exceedingly tense and very painful. There was much extravasation of blood into the tissues around the puncture, while a bloody exudation oozed out from the wound for 24 hours at least after its infliction. During this

time also there were pain and tenderness along the tract of the median nerve into the axilla; tenderness was especially well marked at the bend of the elbow and in the axilla. There was also some anæsthesia of the anterior surfaces of the three and a half outer fingers, the superficial finger distribution of the median nerve. There was neither enlargement nor tenderness of any of the lymphatic glands. It soon became apparent that a slough was going to form round the site of inoculation. This slough became demarcated in a few days. It was of the size of a threepenny-piece. It came away in about three weeks' time and left a hole a quarter of an inch deep. This wound has gradually granulated up and now (six weeks after the accident) it is nearly healed.

"The case is an interesting one and worthy of record as one in which the identity of the snake was beyond doubt; and further, the case was under observation from the first, and symptoms, both local and general, were carefully noted as they appeared. It also points to the efficacy of Calmette's serum when fresh, even when general symptoms have appeared and in spite practically of no local treatment, not even a ligature.

"The following conclusions can be drawn:—I. That great care is required in handling poisonous snakes. 2. That the puncture of a fang of a passive snake is not to be neglected, as a considerable amount of poison may be forced out from the gland through reflex action, initiated by simple pressure on the fang. 3. That thorough sucking of the wound is of little avail as a local treatment; the poison lies deep, is viscid, and the bleeding in all probability takes place from superficial vessels. 4. That it is advisable to keep a stock of *fresh* antivenomous serum in dispensaries in India, and the use of this serum is not to be neglected even after general symptoms have set in."

The Original notes received by us from Dr. Hanna are as ollows:—

"The freshest serum can be obtained direct from M. Calmette, L'Institut Pasteur, Lille, France.

"Occasionally you can get fairly fresh serum from Messrs. Phillips & Co., Bombay [and we may add, from Messrs. W. E. Smith & Co., Madras].

"A paper in French has all the necessary directions accompanying the bottles. [It is this paper we subjoin below*.]

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* INSTRUCTION POUR L'EMPLOI DU SERUM ANTIVENIMEUX.
INSTITUT PASTEUR
DE LILLE
(Nord-France)

Le sérum antivenimeux est du sérum de cheval immunisé contre le venin des serpents. Il conserve ses propriétés indéfiniment, si on prend soin de ne jamais

"The following are the chief points to attend to:—

1. At once ligature strongly the bitten limb with a handkerchief or other suitable means as near as possible to the bite.

2. *Bathe the wounds abundantly* so as to make them bleed freely.

3. It is *useless to cauterise* with heat or chemicals.

4. *Avoid* the administration of *ammonia or alcohol*, as these only accelerate the circulation of the poison and do not give the serum which is being absorbed, a chance to act upon the venom circulating in the blood.

5. Inject the serum into the flank with a 10—20 c.c. sterile syringe.

"There is one point to which we should like to draw your attention. Calmette recommends 10 c.c. for the smaller snakes and 20 c.c. for the larger, such as the cobra. We recommend the injection of at least 30 c.c. of the serum.

---

déboucher le flacon qui le renferme et de le maintenir à l'abri de la lumière. Il n'est altéré par la chaleur qa'au dessus de 60 degrés centigrades.

On l'emploie en injections hypodermiques dans tous les cas de morsures de serpents venimeux ou de scorpions. Le sérum empêche les effets des venins provenant de toutes les espèces de serpents de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Océanie et de l'Amérique.

La dose à employer est de 10 c.c., c'est-à-dire un flacon entier, pour les enfants et pour les adultes, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une morsure du vipère d'Europe ou d'un serpent de petite espèce des pays chauds.

Dans les cas de morsures par des serpents de grande taille, tels que le *cobra capel* de l'Inde, le *naja haje* d'Egypte, les *bothrops* de la Martinique et de l'Amérique du Sud, les *crotales* de l'Amerique centrale et de l'Amerique du Nord, il sera préférable d'injecter simultanément deux doses, soit 20 c.c. en une seule injection.

Il faut intervenir le plus tôt possible après la morsure, car certains serpents, dans les pays chauds, tuent l'homme en quelques heures. Même dans les cas les plus graves, on pourra toujours empêcher la mort et arrêter l'envenimation si on injecte le sérum dans un délai de quatre heures après la morsure. Il n'y a aucun danger à en injecter de grandes quantités; **le serum ne renferme aucune substance toxique et ne cause jamais d'accidents.**

Les injections sous-cutanées de sérum doivent être faites dans le tissu cellulaire du flanc droit ou gauche de préférence, parce qu'elles ne sont pas douloureuses à cet endroit.

On doit les pratiquer avec une seringue stérilisable, à piston de caoutchouc ou d'amiante, de 10 ou 20 c.c. de capacité. Avant l'injection, on fait bouillir la seringue pendant cinq minutes dans de l'eau additionnée d'une petite quantité de borax. (Cette substance empêche les aiguilles d'être attaquées par la rouille). On lave avec soin la peau du blessé avec du savon et de l'eau, puis avec une solution antiseptique. On introduit alors l'aiguille profondément dans le tissu cellulaire, on pousse l'injection en une ou deux minutes et on retire brusquement l'aiguile. Le sérum se résorbe en quelques instants.

Ces précautions de propreté sont untiles pour ne pas produire d'abcès. On peut s'en dispenser si le temps presse et que la vie de la personne mordue soit en danger immédiat. Dans les cas très urgent on peut injecter le sérum directement dans une veine superficielle, telle que la veinue dorsale de la main.

Le sérum antivenimeux préparé à l'Institut Pasteur de Lille ne renferme pas d'acide phénique. Son pouvoir antitoxique peut toujours être vérifié de la manière suivante: Si on injecte 2 c. c. dans les veines d'un lapin pesant environ deux kilogrammes, ce lapin doit pouvoir résister cinq minutes après à une dose d'un venin quelconque calculée pour tuer en vingt minutes les lapins témoins, de même poids que le lapin qui a reçu le sérum préventivement.

"You will see from a paper which we are publishing in the *Lancet* in a month or six weeks, why we have come to this conclusion.

"From other experiments which are being conducted here by us, and which will appear later, I am afraid you will find that Calmette's serum is useless against the bites of *Viperine snakes*, such as Russell's viper which is very common here and probably on the Madras side also.

"The serum has *undoubted value* against colubrine snakes such as the Cobra and Krait.

"Please try to *identify the snake*, if possible,—this is very important."

THE THREE INDIAN BISHOPS.—The Metropolitan has been taken to task by a portion of the press for having, in a Missionary sermon at St. Paul's, Calcutta, expressed the very Christian hope that the Holy Scriptures would be studied in the public schools and colleges in India before the conclusion of this new century. We don't see what reason there is against even the hope being expressed that the *Vedas* should come to be studied. As a fact, we believe, Bishop Butler's immortal *Analogy* is a text-book for "Honors," and even a Hindu taking it up, would have to study the scheme of Revealed Religion as laid down in the Bible. The forcible, or insidious, conversion of India to Christianity is an exploded bogey even among the natives, and the best educated among them are always found to be those who have closely studied the Bible—more closely than 90 per cent. of even European "Christians." The Bishop of Madras in a speech has commented on the godlessness of the present system of Government education, and the loss thereby to the youths themselves and the country. Meanwhile, the Hon'ble and Rev. Dr. Miller—who is as great in his Church as any Bishop, and is held in the greatest affec-

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Un léger précipité albumineux dans les flacons n'est pas un indice d'altération.

La première précaution à prendre, aussitôt que l'on est mordu par un reptile est de serrer le membre mordu à l'aide d'un lien ou d'un mouchoir, le plus près possible de la morsure entre celle ci et la racine du membre

On doit, autant que possible, laver abondamment la plaie produite par les crochets du serpent en la faisant saigner, et l'arroser ensuite avec une solution récente de chlorure de chaux à 1 gr. pour 60 d'eau distillée ou avec une solution de chlorure d'or pur à 1 gr. pour 100. Ces deux substances détruisent très bien le venin qui reste dans la plaie. On pent faire ensuite un pansement antiseptique ordinaire.

Il est inutile de cautériser le membre mordu avec un fer rouge ou avec des substances chimiques. On doit éviter d'administrer de l'ammoniaque ou de l'alcool qui ne pourraient qu'etre nuisibles au malade et au traitement par le sérum.

TRAITEMENT des MORSURES VENIMEUSES chez les Animaux Domestiques—Dans certains pays, beaucoup d'animaux domestiques (bœufs, moutons, chevaux, chiens) sont tués chaque année par des reptiles venimeux et occasionnent ainsi des pertes considerables aux agriculteurs. L'emploi du sérum antivenimeux permet d'éviter ces pertes. On en fait usage exactement comme pour l'homme et aux mémes doses. Les injections aux animaux doivent être faites de préférence sous la peau du dos, entre les deux épaules.

tion and esteem by even the Hindu community of Madras, whom he has done so much to elevate and raise—has entered the fray and quite convincingly shown that Lord Halifax's famous Education Despatch, as well as "neutrality" in religion, does not operate in regard to the teaching of the Bible in Government Colleges. This is an extraordinary view; but he clearly and conclusively proves his point. No one has yet ventured to controvert his position.

The good Bishop of Bombay is not troubled with such matters, but in delivering his first "Charge" to his Clergy, drew attention to a variety of points in which he finds the Clergy in India falling short of their clear and absolute duty—especially in the matters of regular daily Church Services—which even Hindus and Mahomedans carry out for their respective faiths—and visiting their flock. His words are so weighty and true, that we regret we cannot do more at present than just refer to them, and to say how true they are. And our Chaplains have not the slightest excuse for such laziness and neglect of their duties. They are put to shame not only by the hard-worked Roman Catholic Clergy; but, as stated above, even by the heathen!

LEGISLATION AND OTHER MATTERS AND OBITUARY.—The Select Committee's Report on the Assam Labour Bill recommends the enhancement by eight annas in the minimum wage of indentured coolies in their second and third years, but only Sir C. Rivaz, Mr. Raleigh and Mr. Bolton sign it without reservation. Messrs. Buckingham and Henderson and Sir Allan Arthur append independent riders protesting in the strongest manner against raising the wage at a time like the present, when the tea industry is face to face with a crisis, and urge that no case fo rit has been made out, and that it can only operate, not only to the detriment of the industry, but also to that of the cooly himself, since it will make it more difficult for the employer of labour in the tea districts to give employment to the labourer. Mr. Cotton, on the other hand, appends a long rider urging that the wage should be raised, not by eight annas, but by double that amount from the commencement of service, his argument being that the minimum wage as actually paid is insufficient to keep coolies in health and strength, and that to raise it would not only reduce the death-rate amongst coolies but would actually relieve the planter, since it would enable him to obtain labour without having to pay the present high premiums for collecting it, which premiums now go into the hands of middle-men. A protest meeting has been held.

There have been seasonable and plentiful rains in South India, but some parts further North and West will yet have

to pass through another period of Famine. Mr. Digby has a cure for Famine, and it is a pity he does not come forward and show what it is. There has been extreme cold in the North, while the South of India has been warmer than usual. Meteorological science is as yet only in its infancy and first beginnings, and cannot explain much of what happens—much less predict what is to happen. The Plague has again gained ground in Bombay in certain districts, is increasing in the Punjab, has diminished in Mysore, and is raging violently in Behar. The serum, too, for innoculation has been proved to lose its efficacy after six months. Finally,—and it is about the best news for India, press and public alike,—there is now every chance of the high charges for the cable from Europe being materially—by one-half—reduced. The prospect of this reduction comes not from the Indo-European Telegraph Company, but from the new cable to be laid across the Pacific from Canada.

Our obituary list includes Thomas Faed, R.A.; Sir William Stokes; Sir John Adye; Professor Sidgwick; Rev. Archdeacon Gorton (late of Madras); The Marquis of Bute; Sir Henry Acland, M.D.; Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C.; Professor Shuttleworth; Sims Reeves; Sir John Cowan; Professor Max Müller; Prince Christian Victor; Professor Hughes; Maharajah of Patiala; Professor Armstrong (Edin.); Sir Arthur Sullivan; Oscar Wilde; Henry Russell (song writer); Sir John Couroy, F.R.S.; Field Marshall von Blumenthal; Sir Thomas Clark; Dowager Lady Churchill; Lord Armstrong and W. H. Grimley, late B.C.S.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.

Pioneering on the Congo. By the Rev. W. HOLMAN BENTLEY. 2 vols. (Religious Tract Society, 1900.)

THIS is a noble book, interesting and instructive. The writer of this Notice is familiar with the history of the Region, and has watched the enterprise for the whole period of its being undertaken, and is intensely interested in the motives and objects, which are had in view. But no outsider coming fresh on such a narrative of Regions previously unknown can fail to be thankful, that such a book has been written. Perhaps it is too long to attract the general reader, and some of the anecdotes might have been omitted, or greatly reduced in length; yet anyone, who has an interest in the philosophic study of Mankind, as still existing at the close of the nineteenth century, cannot fail to find much to admire, and ponder over. It does not in the least resemble the story, which a Missionary would give of a twenty years' sojourn in British India or China, or even in South Africa, or Eastern Equatorial Africa. It gives a picture of an environment, which had existed before the contact of the black races with the Mahometan and Christian invaders.

The period of years which the narrative covers is from 1878 A.D. to 1900. Henry Stanley had just completed his great stride across Africa by the valley of the Congo River, and had returned to Stanley Pool to introduce order under the authority of Leopold King of the Belgians. The Missionary Society, of whose agents we read the achievements, was the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain, and the author of the book is the Rev. W. Holman Bentley, one of the most efficient of the Missionaries of that Society, and well known in the Literary world for his admirable dictionary and Grammar of the Congo Language, and his translation of the New Testament into the same form of speech.

The appearance of the book is most opportune for those, who were interested in the great enterprise and really desirous of some official Progress Report, and the degree of success, or the contrary, which had attended the first twenty years of the operation. Much time, even amounting to years, was lost in the necessary material-preparation for the task. This has been surmounted, and the real Missionary work of converting souls,

and building up a Native Christian Church, is progressing. Herein lies the great contrast between a Mission started in Central Africa or in British India. In the latter country the new arrival finds a population of quiet people grouped in towns and villages in a certain degree of culture, under a strong and civilized Government, with all the necessaries of life available ; Missionary work can commence at once. In the Congo Region it was entirely the contrary, and must remain so for many a long year ; but still a firm footing has been established.

Mention is made of the languages spoken in the Region : one only, the Congo; has as yet been thoroughly studied, others only slightly, many not at all : here is work for the scholars of next century. The people in the Region are not 'Savages,' but must be classed in the higher stage of 'Barbarians' : their religion is of the lowest order : they recognize dimly the existence of a God, but are saved from the course of a Priesthood, and apparently there are no temples. Many of their customs are most abominable. Slavery exists in its most atrocious forms : among some of the tribes Cannibalism prevails, and a chief is mentioned, who had eaten seven of his own wives. Polygamy exists to an enormous extent, and forty wives are mentioned as nothing unusual. Cruelty, contempt of human life, and tribal feuds, render a civilized life impossible. Witchcraft is a custom of peculiar malignity : every death is attributed to witches at the instigation of some enemy, and the survivors of the deceased think it their duty to secure vengeance with most frightful consequences.

Still, in spite of this extremely bad collective character of the tribes, instances of nobility of character of individuals, gentleness, fidelity, and a readiness to accept Christian Truths are repeatedly quoted, showing that there is a soil for planting the new Religion of Christ not in name only but reality ; and some few most promising conversions have been made.

The Baptist Mission is not the only Protestant Mission in the Region. Several other societies of different countries have sent their agents, and good feeling and harmony prevail. The Church of Rome is represented also, but has no dominant ascendency. The cost of exploring the country and building stations has been very heavy, and as the work expanded, some stations have had to be abandoned ! The seagoing steamers are now able to enter the lower Congo, and are in communication with the railway, which conveys the Missionary and his heavy stores to Stanley Pool ; Stanley Falls are fifteen hundred miles further Eastward, and the course of the river lies in a gigantic curve to the North of the Equator, and great unknown streams flow into the Congo both from the North

and South, coming from Regions inhabited by different races speaking different Languages. Two river steamers have had to be maintained for service above Stanley Pool.

The loss of life of Missionary Agents, both male and female (for women have not been absent in this warfare), has been very heavy, and it is a sad story to read, but to preach the Gospel is part of the duty of a great Imperial Christian Nation and the object is a worthy one, *viz*, "to bring souls to Christ": the same cannot be said of the wicked wars, which the English have waged in every part of Africa, the thousands of poor natives who have perished to gratify our earth-greed, or swell the profits of the dealers in alcoholic drink in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. If we send blessings in this form of holy women and men, we send curses in the shape of gunpowder and gin to a much greater amount. After ages will comment on these features of the character of Englishmen in the nineteenth century.

To carry on a Protestant Mission in a country belonging to a group of Roman Catholic States involves difficulties unknown to the easy-going Missionaries in British India. But on the whole the Portuguese Government, and the Portuguese Missionaries of the Church of Rome, have acted fairly and kindly; with the French Government North of the Congo there has been very little contact, and nothing but praise is recorded of the King of the Belgians and his officials. The Missionaries of the Past and Present have behaved very judiciously. May their successors adopt the same policy! There may be a change of front: there may be great dangers ahead to the Mission from the unconverted Heathen, and the Romish Civil Authorities.

There is no metallic currency in the Region: all payments are made in cloth, or brass rods, or such like: this requires an accumulation of combustible stores, and one great fire has already caused a serious loss, and inconvenience, as it is a far stretch from Liverpool to Stanley Pool, though there is steam communication by ship or rail the whole distance. The objectionable practice of presents hampers all social intercourse: it reads like a joke at a man taking offence because the usual present of a pig is not made to him.

In this volume the reader recognizes to a certain extent the presence of that peculiar Dialect of the English Language, known as "the Missionary Dialect." It evidences bad literary taste, if nothing worse. At pp. 60, 61, vol. ii, the Divine name appears six times in about the space of one page. The blemish is much less in these volumes than in ordinary Missionary Reports from the field, and one of the alleged reasons for the extreme unpopularity of the subject of Missions in

certain classes of society is the style of the language adopted. The work is a great and a holy one. Why cannot a Missionary Campaign be described, as regards its worldly and human incidents, like any other Campaign? Men lay down their lives nobly in this form of service: so do others in other forms of service, *and God overrules all.* Tell the story simply, and, as it is always a noble story, the heart of the reader rises in admiration, and does not require conventionally pious expressions, or Scripture quotations.

Not much real Missionary work has been done: the Seed has been laid below the ground, and the harvest is in the Future. The enterprise is a noble one, and honour is due to the Committee of the Baptist Society for conceiving, and so far carrying out, a noble idea. The area is enormous, and perhaps it would have been wiser to have commenced with a smaller area, and then, as years went on, expanded operations by annexing new kingdoms. This was the policy adopted with success in British India. When some of us went to India in the Forties, how little we dreamed of the Missionary stations in the Panjab! Of the Author of these volumes we can only speak in terms of love and admiration long entertained for himself and "his good helpmate." May their lives long be spared! This Mission may well be classed among the 'Heroic' Missions of the World.

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THE

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART. I.—QUILON, AN INDIAN PORT OF FORMER DAYS.

WHEN Lord Curzon, in his recent vice-regal tour in Southern India, visited the beautiful native state of Travancore, whose "exquisite scenery, old world simplicity and Arcadian charm" seem to have so attracted his lordship, the first glimpse he had of the natural beauty of the country was at Quilon, a thriving third-rate port on the middle of the Travancore seaboard, and the proposed terminus of the new Travancore Railway. Apart from its natural beauty there is at present but little at Quilon to arrest the gaze of the passing traveller; but in point of historical interest the city has a record which few seaports in India could surpass. It was a place of note ever long before the voyage of Da Gama linked together the destinies of the East and the West. When Calcutta was a marshy jungle infested by wild beasts and Bengal ruled by a line of Hindu kings who held their Court at ruined Gaur, Quilon was one of the chief centres of Eastern trade. Eleven centuries have almost rolled by since it gave its name to the Malabar era current in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In the middle ages it was an important centre of the Nestorian Christians, and was often visited by Catholic missionaries from the West who came so far to bring the erring Nestorians back into the orthodox fold. It was the seat of the first bishoprick which Rome founded in India. The land locked lagoon with its "fairy landscape" where a few days ago rival snakeboats flew over the waters to make a vice-regal holiday, was in the days of Friar Jordanus, the first and perhaps the only occupant of the See of Columbum;* crowded with the shipping of all the East from Yemen to Cathay. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller, found the port one of the largest in the world and its markets the finest in India.

A brief, albeit fragmentary historical sketch of the place

*The Latin form of Quilon. In Sanskrit also Quilon is called Kolanbam.

would be interesting, and would, I believe, have more than academic interest, as it is possible that with Railways and other modern conditions, and the great natural resources of Travancore, Quilon might attain a high position among the commercial centres of Modern India.

The Malabar era called after Quilon Kollam Era (Quilon is simply Kollam *anglice*) begins with 824 A. D., and the town is commonly supposed to have been founded about that date, to commemorate the beginning of a new era. But this view is not correct. The origin of all old towns is lost in obscurity. They grow up naturally in the East as elsewhere, and are deliberately founded and started on an urban career only in rare cases. A conqueror like Alexander founds them at strategical points with great natural advantages to cement his conquests and to spread the influence of a new civilization ; or a Sultan like Mahomed Taglak founds a city and peoples it under compulsion in sheer wantonness of unbridled power. Quilon does not seem to have had any similar origin, and we have clear evidence to show the city was in existence long before the date of its alleged foundation. The first mention of Quilon we find in a document of the seventh century A. D. In an episcopal letter written by Jesu-Jabus of Adiabene, the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon to Simon, metropolitan of Fars (the old name of Persia) charging him with neglect of duty, he says "not only is India which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Fars to *Colon*, a distance of 1,200 parasangs deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness."* This patriarch Jesu-Jabus died in 660 A. D. Quilon must thus have been a place of considerable importance and a centre of Nestorian Christians even at that early date. These Christians, the ancestors of the prosperous Syrian Christians who form a large and influential community in Cochin and Travancore, originally came from Persia before the fifth or sixth century A. D., and settled down in the leading maritime towns of Western India. Quilon must have been in existence for a century or two earlier before it could attain the celebrity of a geographical landmark of India in those days when voyages were so slow and risky.

The Malabar era beginning with 824 AD. was founded according to tradition for the convenience of the people, and was called after Quilon, probably because the formal agreement of the Malabar Chiefs to adopt the new era, was entered into at Quilon which was undoubtedly at the time, the premier city in Malabar.† The city seems to have thriven fast, and

* Yule's Marco Polo. See note on Quilon.

† Malabar is used in the wider sense including the District of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore.

fresh colonies of Nestorian Christians came there attracted by the trade. In 822 A.D. two Nestorian Persians, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz arrived in Quilon with a large following and settled there. Two years after, in 824 A.D., King Sthanu Ravi Gupta anxious to secure pecuniary assistance from the rich Christian merchants in his efforts to repel an invasion of Malabar by the Rahakutas granted the copper-plate grant known as the Second Charter. In this grant the king gave permission to Mar Sapor to transfer to the Tarasa Church and community at Quilon, a piece of land near the city with the hereditament usual at the time of several families of low caste slaves attached to the soil.*

Quilon had already become one of the most important ports in India. The merchant Soleyman of Siraf in Persia who visited Malabar and the East in the first-half of the ninth century A.D. found it was the only port in India touched by the huge Chinese ships on their way from Canton to the ports on the Persian Gulf. The Chinese whose intense conservatism and hatred of all foreign influence have given rise to the most serious political problem at the dawn of the twentieth century were, in those days, an enlightened and pushing race, and the ocean trade of the East was entirely in their hands. Civil dissensions in China led to its decay for a time, but it rose again to pre-eminence under Kublai Khan and other energetic Emperors of the Mongol dynasty.

Soleyman in his book called Chaine de Chroniques† written about 852 A.D., says the Chinese ships on their homeward voyage left Siraf on the Persian Gulf for the Coast of Oman. They touched at Muscat whence they sailed with the monsoon across the Arabian Sea to Quilon. With a moderate wind the journey from Muscat to Quilon took thirty days. At Quilon the Chinese ships paid a heavy port duty of 1,000 dinars. The Chinese ships though large were flat bottomed and required only a small draught of water. They could with ease cross the bar at Quilon and enter the lagoon which formed so fine a harbour. Ibn Batuta gives a good description of the Chinese craft. "Chinese ships only," says Ibn Batuta,‡ "are used in navigating the Sea of China. There are three classes of these: (1) the large which are called *Junks*; (2) the middling which are called *Zao*; and (3) the small called *Kakam*. Each of the greater ships has from twelve sails down to three. These sails are made of bamboo laths woven into a kind of mat; they are never lowered and they are braced this way and that as the wind may blow. When these vessels anchor

* Rae's Syrian Church in India.
† Reinaud's Voyages par les Arabes et les Persans.
‡ Extract from Ibn Batuta by Deffremery and Sanguinetti Paris.

the sails are allowed to fly loose. Each ship has a crew of a thousand men, viz: Six hundred mariners and four hundred soldiers among whom are archers, targetmen and cross-bowmen to shoot naptha.* Each large vessel is attended by three others which are called respectively the *Half*, the *Third* and the *Quarter*. These vessels are built only at Zayton† in China and at Canton. This is the way they are built. They construct two walls of timber, which they connect by very thick slabs of wood, clenching all fast, this way and that with huge spikes, each of which is three cubits in length. When the two walls have been united by these slabs, they apply the bottom planking, and then launch the hull before completing the construction. The timbers projecting from the sides towards the water serve the crew for going down to wash and for other needs. And to these projecting timbers are attached the oars which are like masts in size, and need from ten to fifteen men to ply each of them. There are about twenty of these great oars, and the rowers at each oar stand in two ranks facing one another. The oars are provided with two strong cords or cables; each rank pulls at one of these and then lets go, while the other rank pulls on the opposite cable. These rowers have a pleasant chant at their work usually singing La! La! La! La! The three tenders which we have mentioned above also use oars, and tow the great ships when required.

"On each ship," continues Ibu Batuta, "four decks are constructed; and there are cabins and public rooms for the merchants. Some of these cabins are provided with closets and other conveniences, and they have keys, so that their tenants can lock them, and carry with them their wives or concubines. The crew in some of the cabins have their children, and they sow kitchen herbs, ginger, etc., in wooden buckets. The Captain is a very great personage; and when he lands, the archers and negro slaves march before him with javelins, swords, drums, horns and trumpets."

The Chinese trade with Quilon which had been languishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries revived under the vigorous rule of Kublai Khan, and naturally gave rise to some kind of diplomatic intercourse between the King of Quilon and the Chinese Emperor. From the Chinese annals which have been translated by M. Pauthier we learn that in 1282 A.D. some envoys from the King of Quilon landed at Zayton, the chief port of China at the time.

They brought various rarities as presents to the Great Khan,

* I think a kind of Greek fire was used by the Chinese.

† Zayton the chief Chinese port at the time is identical with modern Chinchifau in Fokein.

including a "black ape as big as a man." The Emperor had thrice sent to Quilon an officer of rank called Yang-Tang-Pi. The Chinese annals say the King of Quilon was called Penate, *i.e.*, Venadan, the lord or ruler of Venaud, a name still applied to the kings of Travancore. The royal residence was called Apu'hota.*

Marco Polo himself visited Quilon on two occasions, once while he was a Chinese mandarin in the service of Kublai Khan, and afterwards on his way home to Venice in 1294 A.D.

From Polo we find that the commerce of Quilon had made the king powerful and his kingdom extended to the mouth of the Tamraparni, including the southern part of the present district of Tinnevelly. The chief articles of export from Quilon were brazil wood, indigo, ginger, the best kind of which was called after Quilon *Columbine* ginger and pepper, which was in great demand all over China.

The city of Kinsay, the largest Chinese city at the time, alone required about 43 loads of pepper, each load weighing about 200 lbs. for its daily consumption.† The Chinese shippers charged freights which came up to 30 per cent. of the cost price and the Khan levied a duty of 10 per cent. In spite of these heavy charges, the merchants, says Polo, realized large profits on the pepper trade.

A few years after the departure of Polo the saintly John of Monte Corvino, the first Roman Catholic Missionary to China, who became afterwards the first Archbishop of Peking, touched at Quilon on his way to the Far East.

From his letters home which have come down to us we find the Mahomedans, or as he calls them, the Saracens had already acquired great influence in the port; there were Christians and Jews, but they were of comparatively little weight. The first band of Mahomedans who settled at Quilon came there to preach their new faith rather than to make their fortunes in commerce. But their descendants adopted a commercial career and were so successful that the trade of the port was almost entirely in their hands for a few centuries.

The origin of the Mahomedan settlement in Malabar is wrapt in the mists of tradition.

Both Hindu and Moslem accounts speak of the conversion of Cheramau Perumal, the last of the Perumals, who, on embracing the new faith, went to Arabia and thence despatched missionaries to Malabar with letters of introduction to the Governors of the leading ports. We have an account of the tradition in the Lusiad (I am quoting from the quaint translation of the late Sir Richard Burton).

* Yule's Marco Polo note on Quilon.

† Polo bases his calculation on the customs returns.

"Hight the last king was Serama Perumal,
Who 'neath one sceptre held the kingdom all.
But as this region there and then was sought
By other races from the Arab Bight,
Who Mahometic worship with them brought.
It hapt their wisdom and their prayers so wrought
Upon the Perumal, and lit such light
That to the faith convert with fervour high
He only hoped a saint in it to die.
He mans his ships and loads with merchandise
And many an offering, curious rare, and rich
And there religious life to lead he hies,
Where lies our Prophet who our Law did preach."
Canto. VII, 32-33-34.

One of the early missionaries sent by Cheraman Perumal from his death bed at Zaphar was Malik Ben Habeeb who went from Cranganore where he had landed with the rest of the party, to Quilon. He built a mosque and settled there, and with Quilon as his centre went on preaching expeditions to all the cities around.

This according to Zeenudeen was the origin of the Mahomedan Colony at Quilon, who soon displaced the Chinese and almost monopolized the trade of the port until the arrival of the Portuguese.*

In 1324 Friar Jordanus of Severac, afterwards Bishop of Quilon or Columbum, the first Catholic See in India, came to Quilon and spent some years in mission work among the Nestorians. His interesting work *Mirabilia descripta*† written on his return home after his first journey to the East, gives us a glimpse of the country at the time. The King of Quilon was a Nair Lingayet, and the commercial wealth of the port had made the kingdom powerful and extensive. Jordanus found several Nestorian Christians at Quilon and other towns on the coast. He built a Church, St. George's Church, at Quilon, and had a congregation of two or three hundred Nestorians whom he had brought back to the orthodox faith. Like most early missionaries he is rather hard on the Nestorians:

"In this India,‡" he says, "there is a scattered people one here, another there, who call themselves Christians, but are not so, nor have they baptism, nor do they know anything else about the faith! Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ." Jordanus pays a noble tribute to the rulers of Malabar for their toleration. "And let me tell you, among the idolaters, a man may with safety expound the word

* See Zeenudeen's Toh-ful-uhl Miyahdeen translated by Rowlandson.
† Yule's Wonders of the East (Hakluyt Society).
‡ He means Malabar.

of the Lord, nor is any one from the idolaters hindered from being baptized." He gives a favourable account of the character of the people. "The people," he says, "are clean in their feeding, true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree as they have come down from old times." Jordanus also mentions the system of inheritance prevailing among the ruling military caste. "In this India never do the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters." Jordanus does not like Polo, give details of the trade of the port, but says simply it was extensive and consisted chiefly in pepper, cinnamon, ginger and brazil wood. No trace exists now of the Church founded by Jordanus, but Missionaries and Friars who visited Quilon in the latter part of the century, lived and preached there, and this was probably the building which the Portuguese are said to have visited on their first arrival at Quilon in 1502 A. D.

After speaking highly of the astrologers and physicians of Malabar, Jordanus says in a letter written in 1323 "The people are in continual expectation of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books. And they are continually praying the Lord after their manner to hasten the wished-for arrival of the Latins." This belief seems to have been prevalent all over Malabar. Gaspar Correa, the chief historian of Portuguese India, gives a similar story in his Lendas da India. A Kanian, *i.e.*, a member of the astrologer caste in Malabar, who lived at Cannanore about three or four hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese, had so great a reputation that several of his prophecies were reduced to writing and preserved. One of these related to the arrival of Europeans from the West who, he predicted, would attain to supremacy in India. This, says Correa, was the secret of the favourable reception the King of Cannanore gave Da Gama on his first voyage, and the belief no doubt helped the Portuguese to a certain extent in their wars with the Zamorin.*

In the Easter week of 1347 A. D. Quilon was visited by another Friar, the Papal delegate, John Marignolli of Florence, who afterwards became the Bishop of Bisignano, and who was a friend of the Emperor Charles IV. He was on his way back from China where he had been sent by the Pope in response to a request from the Christian Alans, who formed part of the army of the Great Khan "for a legate wise, capable and virtuous to care for their souls." He lived for over a year at Quilon and preached in the Church founded by Jordanus, and

* See Correa's Three Voyages of Da Gama (Hakluyt Society).

the Christians at Quilon were prosperous enough to give him a monthly tithe of 100 gold fanams, and a thousand when he left. Marignolli who was a bit of a *gourmet* gives a ravishing description of Malabar fruits aud pickles. He was an ambitious man and was particular the people of Quilon should never forget his name. "To emulate the glory of Alexander the Great" he says, "When he set up his column in India, I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial, and anointed it with oil. In scoth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and mine, engraved upon it with inscriptions in both Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated it and blessed it, in the presence of an infinite number of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's."* Human vanity often defeats its own end. The monument seems to have lasted for some centuries, but did not keep fresh the name of Marignolli. The climate and the seaside air soon wrought havoc on the inscription, and as it often happens in India, a tradition soon arose investing it with a halo of antiquity. The pious Christians at Quilon attributed it to St. Thomas, the founder of their Church, and revered it as a standing proof of the visit of the great apostle of the Indies, to the shores of Malabar.

A few years before Marignolli, Quilon was visited by one of the great travellers of history. Abou Abdalla Mahomed, better known by his surname of Ibn Batuta, the traveller, was the greatest traveller of the Arab race. Born at Tangier in Morroco 1304 A. D.; he went on his Haaj (pilgrimage to Mecca) at the age of 21 and thus commenced his extensive travels. His wanderings show how widespread was Moslem influence at the time. He travelled for twenty-eight years at leisure with the usual retinue of a rich and sensual Arab all over Asia, Africa, and European Russia, not rushing through cities with the feverish haste of the globe trotter, but spending a considerable time in each country, studying the people and their ways, and even contracting marriages in most of the countries he visited. He crossed the Hindu Kush, passed through Central Arabia, penetrated into the heart of China, and sailed down the Niger from Timbuctoo, a good traveller's record even in these days of fast travelling. He was a cultured man of the world, full of vital energy and enjoyment of life and endowed with boundless curiosity and daring. He had charming manners and an assurance, by which he won his way into the hearts of princes. His coming to Quilon itself forms an interesting episode in the Indian history of the time. In 1333 he passed over from Afghanistan to the Court of

* Yule's Cathay and the way thither.

Mahomed Taglak at Delhi, in the company of some adventurers all hurrying thither to shake the pagoda tree. His success was instantaneous. He received a present of 1,200 dirhems, and was made Chief Judge of Delhi on a similar annual salary. He filled the post for eight years, during which period he "hung like a perfect horseleech on the king's bounty."* His curiosity led him to pay a visit to a learned Sheik who was out of favour at Court. When this reached the Sultan's ears, Ibn Batuta was dismissed from office and cast into prison. He saved his neck however by a prudent gift of all his wealth to the poor, and by the timely adoption of the Fakir's robe. Soon after an Embassy came from China seeking permission to re-build a Buddhist temple in the Himalayas, frequented by Chinese pilgrims, and Ibn Batuta was selected by the Sultan to return an answer. He left Delhi in 1341 A. D. with costly presents and a large retinue. The party, accompanied by the Chinese ambassadors returning home, embarked in country ships in the Gulf of Cambay, and landed at Calicut, where the ambassador, Ibn Batuta, spent a few months as the guest of the Zamorin, who had made arrangements for their voyage to China in Chinese junks. When they were about to start, a sudden storm arose, the ships were obliged to put out to sea, leaving Ibn behind. He travelled almost alone by back water to Quilon to catch the ships which were almost certain to touch that port. But the storm had destroyed them, and Ibn who did not like to return to Delhi spent three years wandering in the Malabar cities and the neighbouring islands. The journey by back water from Calicut to Quilon took ten days. On the tenth day he arrived at Quilon, "one of the finest cities in Malabar, with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants." The King of Quiton was a person called Attrewety† eminent for his strict and terrible justice. Quilon was the port most frequented by Chinese ships, and Chinese merchants, but Mahomedans had already succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the trade from their hands. The Mahomedans lived hereas in other cities of Malabar in a separate quarter, under the rule of their own Kazi. The chief officer of the port or Bender was also a Mahomedan. The mosque built at the sole expense of a private merchant was an admirable building. Ibn Batuta gives an interesting picture of criminal justice at the time. "During my stay at Quilon," he says, a Persian archer, who was wealthy and influential, killed one of his comrades and then took refuge in the house of one Alâwedji. The Mussulmans wanted to bury the dead body, but the officers of the king would not allow them to

* Yule's Cathay and the way thither.

† Thiruvadi means literally the royal body. It is a term applied to kings.

do so, until the murderer was seized and punished. The officers of the king took the dead body in a bier to the gate of Alâwedji and left it there to rot. The smell soon compelled Alâwedji to hand over the murderer to the officers of the king, who refused a large bribe offered by the Persian, and had him forthwith tried and executed. The body of the victim was then buried." This barbarous custom seems to prevail even now in China and might for aught we know have been introduced to Quilon by the Chinese. I may give an equally interesting account by the Italian traveller Varthema, of a custom he found in the Malabar ports by which the administration of civil justice was considerably simplified. The king had 100 scribes, and in case of debts evidenced by deeds in the handwriting of these scribes, the law provided a summary remedy. "If the debtor promising many times, fails to pay, the creditor not willing to wait any longer nor give him any indulgence, takes a green branch (of a palm) in his hand, goes softly behind the debtor, and with the said branch draws a circle on the ground surrounding him, and if he encloses the debtor within the circle, says to him these words three times 'Brahmanananè rajavinane purath pokalliè, *i.e.*, I command you by the Brahmins, by the king, not to depart hence (until you havé paid the debt).' If the debtor left the circle without paying the debt, he was liable to the penalty of death."* The green branch of a palm, says Ibn Batuta, was also used by the officers of the king to help the collection of the royal dues from the merchants. If the merchants did not pay the royal dues, an officer of the king came with the green branch of a palm and suspended it in front of the shop. No person could buy or sell until the branch was removed.

We learn from Ibn Batuta that Calicut had already become a rival of Quilon. The decline of the Chinese trade and the rise of the influence of the Mahomedan merchants, whom the Zamorins attracted to their Capital, by the grant of special privileges, soon made Calicut the chief port of Malabar. Even after the trade with the West, Arabia, Egypt and Venice, was absorbed by Calicut, the trade with the East, Bengal, Malaccas remained with Quilon. But the decline of the Chinese trade in Malabar was rapid. We learn from Joseph of Cranganore, a Syrian Christian, who visited Portugal in the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the Mahomedans with the assistance of the Zamorin massacred the Chinese in the leading ports. At the time of Vasco Da Gama's arrival, Chinese trade was a matter of tradition, confirmed only by the presence of Chinese temples and Chinese half-castes in the principal ports. Though these have perished without leaving a trace we can even now detect

* Travels of Ludovico Varthema (Hakluyt Society).

Chinese influence in the prevailing type of domestic architecture in Malabar, and in the Malayalan names of several articles of commerce, *e.g.*, porcelain jars, sugar candy, and alum, &c., which were probably first brought to Malabar by the Chinese.

The Portuguese visited Quilon in 1502 A.D. during the second voyage of Vasco Da Gama. An envoy from the Rani of Quilon came to Cochin and requested Da Gama to send two ships to Quilon for pepper. Da Gama with the previous permission of the Cochin Rajah, which he obtained after some diplomatic manœuvring, sent to Quilon Fernandez Pereira and Francisco Marecos with the presents of a handsome mirror, corals and a large bottle of orange-flower water. The Rani received them with great honor, loaded their ships with pepper and sent Da Gama return presents of several silk stuffs of various colors, and very fine white stuffs of great width, all of local make. In the following year, Alphonso Albuquerque, the future Governor-General, visited Quilon, entered into a treaty with the Rani, and established a factory. Soon after his departure, the Mahomedan traders rose against the Portuguese and besieged the factory. Duarte Pacheco, the captain in command at Cochin, marched across the country with a mere handful of soldiers and raised the seige. In 1505 the Mahomedans rose again, stormed the factory and killed Antonio de Sà, the chief factor and twelve other Portuguese. A new viceroy, belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Portugal, had just landed at Cannanore, and Dom Francisco d'Almeida wanted to wreak a signal vengeance. He sent his son, Dom Lorenzo, a lad of 18, but one of the bravest and most daring men whom Portugal sent to the East in that age of derring-do. The young Lorenzo bombarded Quilon, routed the Mahomedans, and with the brutality which stained the annals of early Portuguese rule, sacked the city and massacred the inhabitants.* The blow was fatal to a declining port.

Varthema and Barbosa, who visited Quilon a few years after, found there were several traders of Bengal, &c. The King of Quilon was still powerful and had a large army, and the kingdom still included as in Polo's time the southern part of Tinnevelly. But the fall was rapid. Though the Portuguese built a fort at Tangachery near Quilon they did not care to develop a port so near their base at Cochin; and the magnificent harbour inside the lagoon where the flat bottomed Chinese ships rode in safety, was closed to the Portuguese, whose ships could not cross the bar. The rise of the Portuguese power, and the ruthless way in which they put down all trade, which was not under their flag or with their pass, destroyed the Quilon trade with the Eastern

*Morse Stephen's Albuequerque.

ART. II.—EASTWARD HOME WITH TRIPS TO COREA, SIBERIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

I.

ALMOST everyone once in their service in India takes the Eastward route home *viâ* Japan and Canada. This year I did the same, but, added to it one or two side journeys which greatly increased the novelty of the route, while adding but little to the expense. Some account of the trip may be of interest to others going Eastward. I left Colombo early in May by a North German Lloyd for Hong-Kong, and from my experience with the Messageries Maritime, the Orient and the P. and O. I have no hesitation in saying they are the best and largest ships that come to the East, and the comfort of the passenger is far more considered than on the other lines.

We called at Penang and Singapore on our way and at both places had time to see something of them. Penang is interesting as being the first place one comes across John Chinaman in force. Here he is coolie, riksha man and merchant, and, of course, opium contractor, that being much too profitable a business to leave to others. The Government gardens are beautifully situated at the foot of the hills and exceedingly prettily laid out. An hour in a sedan-chair carries one to the top of the hills to a fairly good hotel, and from here the view of the harbour and country is superb.

Singapore harbour has a most beautiful entrance, narrow and winding with wooded hills on both sides. The town lies far from the harbour, but there are cabs and rikshas in any number. Raffles' Hotel is certainly better than any Indian hotel, though the food leaves much to be desired, due, the residents say, to all beef having to be imported from India and to nothing keeping fresh more than a few hours. Apart from the town itself, which is well laid out, and has the marks of prosperity in its good roads, electric light and well-kept houses, the most interesting thing to see are the Government gardens, which are beautifully kept and have a wonderful collection of orchids, which, to any one interested in flowers, are well worth a visit.

The run from Colombo to Hong-Kong is from fifteen to sixteen days, and one can either proceed to Nagasaki and Yokohama by the German steamer, or tranship into the Empress Line for Japan and Vancouver, or one of the three lines for Japan, the Sandwich Islands, and San Francisco. The circular ticket from Colombo to Hong-Kong and so home *viâ* Japan and Canada or America and out either to Bombay or Colombo is £120, or only a trifle more than a 'P. and O.' return, though one is at sea for considerably more than double as long.

Leaving the 'Sachsen' at Hong-Kong I waited two days for the "Empress of China" to take me to Shanghai and Japan. One day I spent in seeing the sights of Hong-Kong and the other in a trip to Maçao. Unfortunately I had no time to see Canton. Hong-Kong is splendidly situated, overlooking the harbour, and is probably impregnable now that Kowloon on the opposite coast has been annexed and fortified. Englishmen regard its impregnability as assured, but, it is well known in the Far East that the Russian Admiral has boasted that with the present strength of the fleets in the Pacific he could land five thousand troops on the back of the island and take the place. When we remember that there is no fortification on this side of the island, and that there is only one field battery to repel such a landing, and also that the Russian fleet in the Pacific is both more numerous, more powerful, and more modern in sea-worthy boats, there is something to be said for his boast. Numerically our fleet is the largest, but it includes certain river-boats which would be quite useless, and also some antique relics of thirty years ago. The whole of the level ground in Hong-Kong is built closely over with many storied blocks, and houses clamber up the sides of the hill almost to the top, where houses again are clustered round the Peak.

House rent is a serious thing to residents of Hong-Kong, and there is no means of extension except by acquiring a piece of hill side and quarrying out space to build. Kowloon on the opposite side of the harbour will afford an outlet for the ever increasing population, but here Government are letting slip a golden opportunity in not fixing one part for European residents only. The result is that Chinese rabbit warrens are being built next to European houses and bazaars are mixed up with dwelling houses somewhat in the way that Madras is sported. The Peak, which is about one thousand feet above the harbour and reached by a rope railway, is decidedly cooler than below and affords a splendid view of the harbour and island. Unfortunately whenever there is any rain the whole Peak is covered in mist and nothing is to be seen. This was my fate. The other show place in the island is the Happy Valley with its race-course and graveyard lying cheek by jowl. The latter laid out round the hill sides and planted with trees and supplied with fountains, is as restful a place as the dead could wish for. Hong-Kong can boast as comfortable a Club as is to be found in the East, though the people of Shanghai will hardly agree, being inclined to patronise and to express mild astonishment at Horse Races being held there. In spite of this, the races flourish and all the fleets of the Pacific find urgent business there at the time, and all the Treaty Ports of China and Japan and even Singapore send contingents.

Maçao, an old Portuguese Settlement on the mainland, is only a few hours by comfortable steamers from Hong-Kong. The place is well worth a visit as the first European Settlement in China, and as the home of Camoens, whose house and gardens are still preserved. The drive along the sea front is fine and a visit to the gateway leading into China worth making. Maçao has the further attraction of being the Monte Carlo of the East; here the tables are managed scrupulously honestly and the odds are very fair, slightly in favour of the table of course, and a deduction of 6¼ per cent. from winnings is taken for the Government before paying the winners. When the table is too crowded to get near, one ascends to a gallery above and stakes are let down on to the table. There was a rumour that the Portuguese Government were going to prohibit gambling, but it is hardly likely as it is the sole industry of the place and the sole source of revenue! What will the gay youth of Hong-Kong do, if so, now that Kowloon has become British and the gambling houses closed?

The run from Hong-Kong to Shanghai is only two days. Large ships anchor at Woosung at the river bar and passengers go up in a river steamer—a very weary and often bitterly cold journey of three or four hours. The scenery is nothing but flat river banks with hardly a sign of life. When Shanghai is reached it might as well be London, for everywhere there are factory chimneys, ship-building yards, oil reservoirs and the like, while one side the river is lined with wharfs and the other is a long embankment with great flights of steps down to the water. All along the embankment are lawns and gardens, while across the road are thoroughly European houses, English Police in blue uniform in the road; the pavements are asphalte and there are electric lamps, just as in London. The only Oriental thing one notices at first are the rikshas in rows and rows. Afterwards one notices that there are Sikh Police, and Chinese Police as well as Peelers.

The whole settlement gives one the idea of a well-to-do suburb of London for the houses are built in the same way with a conservatory on one side, a small bit of garden in front with a short carriage drive and a larger garden at the back. The roads are utterly English with their water-carts and even their red letter-boxes. Go a little further down the embankment and one gets to the French Settlement and there is a marked change, everything is French, and there is a dead and alive look about the place while the roads are narrow and very much dirtier. A few yards further away from the bund and one emerges upon a foul and smelling ditch half full of green water and black slime. It is only the moat of the native town. Cross it and you pass under two low, narrow and filthy

gateways. You are now in China town and Europe is left behind. The streets are narrow with high houses on both sides with swinging signboards hanging from top to bottom, underfoot is unutterable filth and around are jostling Chinese crowds. You must either walk or go in a wheelbarrow, both means of progression are unpleasant but there is no other. The chief things to see are the Buddhist temples, very tawdry but often containing fine bronzes, the tea-house on the island reached by a zigzag bridge which possesses some really fine furniture and some unique scents from the sewer over which it stands, and the shops,—these latter are almost worth coming for, as the various silks, ivories, jade ornaments and carvings are superb though anything but cheap to buy.

The finest thing of all, and which everyone should see, is the Mandarin's house and garden. The quaintest and most elaborate little garden you can imagine with paths winding in and out and up and down over little bridges and up to little tea-houses and yet the whole in a space of less than half an acre. Fossil trees are a great speciality in Chinese gardening as being typical of something very old. The house also is interesting as showing how far the Chinese are in advance of the Hindu in studying bodily comfort. The furniture is handsome, carved ebony with marble seats. The tables and lounges and smoking divans are the same. On the walls are some excellent painted scrolls, as also specimens of Chinese writing, for the Chinaman ranks good writing on a par with painting, and as a matter of fact Chinese writing is painting, as every stroke is from the elbow and not from the wrist.

It is well to take a good look at everything in Shanghai City, so as to get a good idea of Chinese outward life, as it saves you ever wanting to go inside a Chinese town again, for the dirt and the smells and the horror of it, will never leave you. Shanghai is a good place to select, as you can always be back in civilization again in half an hour, and by the time you have finished lunch in the excellent club you will have got over your disgust more or less. I may mention that I saw the Chinese City on a damp rainy day, and after two days of rain. Possibly in sunny weather it may be better, but, I hardly like to think of the city moat and drain combined on a sunny day.

Shanghai to Nagasaki another two days, and cleanly smiling Japan is before us. Here I left the "Empress," and after waiting three days caught a Russian boat to Vladivostock in Eastern Siberia. While waiting I visited Moji, a pretty little sea-side place near Nagasaki and also the waterfalls, there are other interesting places a few stations down the line, and Nagasaki itself is worth two days with its Shinto and Buddhist temples and its curio shops and tortoise shell work. The temple of the

Brazen Horse, made famous by Pieno Loti in "Madame Chrysanthéme," is well worth a visit and one could spend hours in Sato's curio shop. He has ivories, bronzes, cloisonné, satsuma, old blue china, gold lacquer, silks, embroideries, damascened work and carved wood work to please the most fastidious, and I saw with him things I was unable to get anywhere else in Japan. Then, too, the tortoise shell work is beautiful and not at all expensive, less than half what one pays in Italy or London.

II.

The trip to Vladivostock took three days by the boat I was on, a small 2,000 ton boat belonging to Kuntz and Albers the big merchants of Eastern Siberia. Besides this there is a fortnightly service of the Niphon Yusen Kaisha (Japanese Steam Company). These boats go *viâ* the Corean ports and take from five to six days and are excellent. Also there is about a fortnightly service of the Russian Volunteer Fleet from Odessa to Vladivostock, but they are nearly always full of soldiers, emigrants, and until recently convicts in cages. They take only two days and are fine boats, especially the 'Khersow' of 8,000 tons and 17,000 horse power, but, only as an experience should they be tried, as the ways of the Russians are different to our ways, and two meals a day at 11 and 5-30 are all you get.* Cabins are large but not clean, and the ships are smelly if the wind is from the steerage. In the days when they carried convicts they were not at all to be desired, and if a convict gave trouble they brought him to his senses by turning on the steam hose into his cage. Still it was an experience to see Russian methods, and their upper and main decks lined on both sides with iron cages, in which the convicts were put at Odessa and never left till Vladivostock or Port Arthur was reached. Now, however, from January 1st, 1900, Russian year, the Czar has ordered no more convicts to be sent to Siberia, so the cages will presumably be removed. Another regular service to Vladivostock is the Eastern Manchurian Company which runs fortnightly from Talienwan to Vladivostock *viâ* Nagasaki—they are fair boats, but, seamanship is faulty. On our way up to Vladivostock, just sixty miles out from Nagasaki we ran into a fog and anchored. When it lifted we found one of this line had gone full steam into a rocky island—they refused assistance and had finally to be fetched off by the Russian battleship the 'Ruric' that happened to be at Nagasaki.

We reached Vladivostock on a Sunday and as it happened to be the Czar's Coronation Day, the medical officer

* And they ought to be quite enough. We never take more, and we work very hard. There is too much of eating altogether (and, we may add, of drinking) now-a-days. No wonder so many patent Pills flourish.—ED. *C. R.*

discovered that we were only nine days out from Hong-Kong and so must be quarantined and he and the other officials could go off to the reception and the fireworks. In vain it was pointed out that we were all from Japan,—that couldn't be helped, our papers showed us from Hong-Kong! We had a Baron of sorts on board with introductions to the Governor, and as we wanted to get ashore he wrote sending his introductions. These had to be sent through the medical officers, and the only reply we got was two Cossacks sent on board to see that none of us escaped. Next morning the letters were forwarded and of course we were allowed to land.

I myself went to stay with English friends in the place but, for others, there are two hotels of which the 'Pacific' is the best—a big imposing place with a large stage attached and also a winter garden, and next door to the theatre—the latter built by the Russian Government, and more or less subsidised, is a far better house than any other I have seen in the East. It is solid stone throughout and would seat at least 500 people. The play or opera generally lasts till midnight, then follows supper, and then the café chantant of the hotel goes on till six and then the audience sleep till noon or later.

The hotel is fairly comfortable and food not amiss, but, decidedly expensive, probably fifteen roubles a day all told (= 30 shillings). Also let the unwary traveller remember that when he agrees to two roubles for his room this doesn't mean that he will get any bedding or towels. Those are an extra he must carry himself or pay extra for. Most Russians carry their own bedding, as we do in India and hence the custom. This may not apply in the good St. Petersburg or Moscow hotels, but, in Siberia it certainly does.

Vladivostock harbour is magnificently situated, shaped like the letter E without the middle. One enters at one end between high hills and past a series of forts to get to the centre part, which is used for mercantile purposes, the inner portion being for the fleet. Besides this, in one part a canal has been cut through a narrow neck into a lagoon, which is used entirely for torpedo boats from which they can issue against an attacking fleet and in which they are safe. The whole harbour is surrounded by hills, and these again by a second range and along both ranges are fortresses and strong military camps. The garrison in and around Vladivostock, when I was there, was about 40,000 men of all arms. The forts are next in strength to Cronstadt giving the place some claim to its name which means "Possessor of the East."

The town lies round the mercantile and inner harbour and is built on terraces cut from the hill sides. The front is taken up by the Government buildings and leading merchants' houses.

Starting on the left are the Military Hospital, a huge barracks and fort, the Terminus of the Siberian Railway; the Docks of the Eastern Manchurian Company; the Russo Chinese Bank, a very fine building in white stone; Kuntz and Albers shops; the Admiralty; Government House; the Cathedral, which is a fine stone building; the Lutheran Church; a huge College and Gymnasium; the Military Courts; the Naval Club; and a whole series of naval barracks, torpedo yards, and dry docks. Behind this front row come the best houses, and behind again less good houses, while still higher up are the Corean and Chinese villages.

The powerful ice breaker in the harbour attracts one's attention, for with it the harbour is kept open throughout the year though the ice is often over six feet thick.

A thing that strikes one very much about the place is its absolutely un-Asian appearance, except for its Corean and Chinese coolies it is entirely European. The shops are kept by Russians, officials are all Russian, the cabmen are as Russian as in Southern Russia with their high boots, green velveteen breeches and coat and red waistcoats and red coat sleeves. Their driving also is eminently Russian with their hands somewhere over their heads while they roll about on their seats and adjure their beasts by all the gods to try to break your neck, at least that is what it sounds like to one unlearned in the Russian tongue.

Almost all the houses are built of wood, a double frame work packed with earth or sawdust or bricks to keep the cold out. Outwardly they are very ornate or blaze with gay colours. Forwardly they are divided into small rooms which lead one into the other. None have of course a bath room, as Russians bathe but seldom, and when they do there are very good public baths; even other more necessary conveniences are often absent inside the houses. With the Russian want of sanitation this is perhaps a wise omission but, with the thermometer forty degrees below zero, it must be inconvenient. Inside the people herd together, and in a small house there are sure to be two families with probably two rooms apiece for from four to six people in each family. Furniture is of the red and gold type and ornaments are terrible in jangling glass or wax. Though Japan is only two days away where beautiful things can be got for very little, none find their way into the Russian's house, for in their eyes there is no taste so bad as the using of the "Japanese barbarian's" things. Gardens don't exist except one public garden consisting of grass plots, shady trees, and a few bushes, but no flowers. Russian meals are novel and rather trying, especially as their hospitality is offended if one does not drink level with them, which

would reduce one to drunkenness, before one had sat down to the real dinner, for first of all there is the 'sakuska,' just a snack at a counter or side table, of fresh caviarè, a little bit of salmon, some dried herring, raw sausage, onions, cheese, sardines, olives, anchovies, and a few more things washed down with many glasses of fiery vodka and other such drinks.* Everyone insists on your trying some particular thing and of course drinking with him. At last you feel you have got the edge off your appetite and you sit down in earnest to a sort of cabbage soup or its equivalent, then perhaps pork floating in fatty oil, then more strange dishes and so on and on with beer, champagne, hock, claret, port,—vodka hopelessly mixed. When you go away you must not be too steady on your legs or the host will be offended and think he has not entertained you well, nor must you be too unsteady or he will have to help you out and that is again rude. Altogether it is a very difficult job to get away without giving any offence, or at least to give the impression that you have had the best meal in your life. Be it understood these remarks apply only to the well-to-do middle classes, for the Russian nobility and well-bred Russians are equalled by none in their polished and refined way of living, but, these are not to be found in Eastern Siberia except possibly as the highest officials or as exiles, and in the latter case their means of enjoying life are strictly limited.

In Vladivostock itself there is little to do after once seeing the sights and the troops at drill and visiting the theatre or opera. There is riding, but, not good, for the roads near the town are in a terrible condition with huge stones lying about and ruts often a foot deep. The Russian horse is wonderfully clever at avoiding these pitfalls, but it detracts from the pleasures of riding. Moreover the whole country is hilly and the ghaut roads are not of the easiest grade. One is perpetually going up or down with only here and there a level piece of road and that as likely as not spoiled by pieces of corduroy, or tree branches laid side by side over a bit of swamp. Once away from the town and the surrounding ports, however, the country improves, and towards Hilkofz, eighteen miles out, the riding is very fair and the scenery beautiful as it is situated along the sea shore. I never saw such a number of wild flowers in a small place as there were there, at the sides of the road, wild roses, lilies of the valley, big yellow lilies, marsh marigolds, forget-me-not, blue and white violets, red orchids, meadow sweet, and many others of which I did not know the names.

In Vladivostock itself a beginning has been made of

* Is the Russian's stomach lined with brass ?—ED. *C. R.*

laying out the roads and the method is delightfully simple. Government paves the road with blocks of stone and plants trees and then collects the amount from the householders whose houses face the road. On a rainy day the mud is often a foot deep and one sits with the apron of the carriage buttoned up to the level of one's eyes and even then huge splashes find their way in. If you are going out calling you arm yourself with a towel so as to protect yourself somewhat to remedy defects on arrival. About thirty miles down the line there is excellent woodcock shooting, and a hundred miles down is an enormous lake, Lake Kanka, with little inlets where millions of wild fowl breed, and many migrate, snipe also abound here. Still further up and slightly off the line are to be got a big kind of red deer, with a far larger spread of horns than the Scotch one. Ovis ammon akin to ovis poli have also been shot, and in the winter black, brown and polar bears. The Siberian tiger, when he can be shot, is a magnificent animal far larger than the Indian one, and covered with a splendid long coat. So good is the fur that even on the spot a skin sells for £20, and the Chinese will pay another five for the bones and fat to make into a medicine to ensure virility. The Amur Ussuri and Sungari and some of the other smaller rivers abound in salmon, but they do not readily take the fly. Anyone going to Siberia for sport, and many Englishmen do now annually, must be prepared to rough it as their quarters will be a peasants' hut and their food what they shoot, or catch or bring with them, and a little black bread and of course unlimited tea. They must also be prepared for a tribe of mosquitos, more venomous than anything they can imagine, large and striped, who settle in clouds in the broad daylight and will not be denied. Allowing for these disadvantages the sport to be got is good and the fine clear bracing air is superb. At night it is always cold but often in the day time exceedingly hot.

As I had some idea of going home across Siberia, I went some distance along the line to try it, but, from what I learned from travellers who had come across, it was not nearly ready for passengers and the discomforts were great. The line starts at Vladivostock and runs nearly due north to Kabarovsk on the Amur, about 600 miles, and takes twenty-six hours. Thence by steamer to Stretensk. This may be six days, or as in the case of some people who started while I was there, twenty-five days, but ten days is the average. If the river is very low only small steamers can ply, and then only in the day time, while, if the river is full, steamers run uninterruptedly. From Stretensk to the Baikal is three days and three nights. When I was there, there were no passenger carriages and people had to travel in covered wagons fitted with rough seats. Moreover they had

to carry their own food, but this has now been altered and proper trains run daily. Across the lake it is five hours and then Irkutsk is reached, and from here it is ten days by train de luxe once a week to Moscow. The latter part of the journey is comfortable, for the train de luxe consists of sleeping cars, dining saloons, a smoking saloon, and a library of English, French, Russian, and German books, and it is proposed to add a gymnasium car and Church, for the devout Russian must have a Church wherever he is, and the Government fully appreciates the value of the Church's influence, especially when that Church is subservient to the Government. The average time therefore across from Vladivostock to St. Petersburg would be twenty-four or twenty-five days, and the cost about £40, though, when the line is in working order, the time is to be reduced to fifteen days at a cost of £20. The original scheme was to join the railway between Kabarovsk and Stretensk, but, since Manchuria has been appropriated this is no longer necessary, and the line is to go direct from Vladivostock to Stretensk by Harbru and Tsitsihar. Even this will now probably be modified and Talienwan or Port Arthur will probably become the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway as soon as Mongolia also falls to Russia. The Eastern Manchurian Railway is already being rapidly built by the Russians from Nikolsk on the line to Vladivostock *viâ* Kirin to Port Arthur. This was nominally a Chinese concession to Russia, but, as the whole line was patrolled by Cossacks and garrisons were planted at intervals, it was in reality an occupation of the country by Russia, and now, since the Chinese War and the rebellion in Manchuria, there is not a doubt that it will become part of the dominions of the Czar. This will give Russia a port on the Pacific free of ice in the winter and near to China, but even this is not sufficient, and the Russians have long fixed their desires on Neuchang, the best of the ports in the Pechili though at present all the trade is British. Failing Neuchang they have great schemes for laying out vast sums at Talienwan in docks, streets, electric light and public buildings and by making it a free port to draw the trade there.

Siberian trains are on the corridor principle and are not uncomfortable as sleeping berths are provided, and owing to the great width of the gauge, 5 feet, there is ample room. The line is laid in a rough and ready way, the metals being pegged down to the sleepers without chairs, and all tunnels are avoided by going round hills, regardless of distance. The pace travelled never exceeds twenty miles an hour, and generally much less, but they are creditably punctual in fair weather.

While I was in Vladivostock came the first rumours of the war and the place at once awoke to activity. The commandeering of horses was the first sign. An Officer and a Vet appeared

the houses of all who had horses, and if they were passed for service, a receipt for them was given fixing their price at, from anything, up to £25, which was the maximum paid for a fine black Orloff bred horse, worth at least treble the amount. The owner does not however get the money down, but if at the end of the war the horse is not returned, he may then present his receipt and will perhaps by a judicious amount of bribery get something. Nothing apparently is done there without a douceur, railway contracts cannot be made, or provisions supplied to the army, or a Government cheque cashed without part finding its way to the officials. Moreover it is done in the most brazen way, as for example, when the Captain of a merchant steamer announced, that, he could not bring certain cargo, unless he was paid £30, as it would spoil his decks. There is no delicacy about these transactions either, for the money is paid over in the most brazen way, and many officials draw a monthly salary from people who have regular dealings with them, or else are made free of their food and drink in some merchant's house, or yet a more simple method is for them to be invited to play cards and to thus win large sums.

This is considered a most delicate way of arranging a little transaction. Just before I arrived there the Police had made a raid for Chinese passports, as every Chinaman has to pay ten shillings yearly to live in Russia, and of course they avoid this with all the cunning they possess. Two troops of Cossacks arrived at the Chinese quarters by night and in the early morning, all were turned out from the houses and marched off by one troop, to the Police to show their passports, while they were away, the other troop in the presence of the officers in charge, looted all the houses and took everything of value. It is hardly to be wondered that the Chinaman does not love his Russian master as is instanced by the constant house robberies and murders that there are, though this must not all be put down to the Chinaman, for though the death sentence is not in force in Russia, this has recently been repeated in Vladivostock, owing to the number of murders committed by convict murderers, who were at large in the town. Constant murders of Engineers and men employed on the Manchurian Railway took place and were followed by Russian revenge on any Chinese found handy. At the beginning of the war, so great was the feeling against the Chinese that many of them were murdered in broad daylight in the streets, and amongst these, the cook of the friends I was staying with, but, all this is nothing to the Blagovochentz massacres and the devastation of the Amur Valley. Such being the nature of the Rus it is hardly likely that for a very long time to come the Lion will wish to lie down

with the Bear, whatever the advocates of a friendly Russ feeling may say.

III.

Leaving Vladivostock with a friend our intention was to coast down to Gensan in Corea and thence strike across country to Seul and Chemulpo. There we were to separate one to Pekin and the other to Nagasaki, to join the Canadian Pacific boat for Vancouver. At the last minute, however, when we had reached Gensan we found the Nippon Yusen Kaisha had, owing to the war, altered the sailings from Chemulpo, so as to just miss the Canadian boat. We had therefore to separate, and after seeing my companion on his way to the sacred Diamond Mountains and the Buddhist monasteries there, I continued *viâ* the coast ports to Nagasaki. I later learned that the journey across Corea took nine days and was accompanied with no great discomforts, and that the scenery, spendid climate and quaintness of the Coreans well repaid the venture. Before leaving Siberia, travellers must notify the Police of their intended departure, and if there is nothing against them, such as debts or being political suspects, their passports will be returned. Until they have these they cannot go on board any steamer, nor if they did, could they depart, for, every ship is searched by the harbour police.

Broughton Bay in which Gensan is situated, is a magnificent harbour many miles in circumference. It was in it at Port Lazaref that the Russians attempted to start a dock and coal depôt ; which was nearly the cause of war with England. The Russians then gave way and Port Lazaref was deserted, but it is now the harbour used by our Pacific fleet when visiting Corea.

Gensan though Corean, gives one the impression of being Japanese, for there are Japanese troops quartered here, the Police are in part Japanese, there is a Japanese post office, and Japanese inn, and all the trade is done by the Japanese. After the Chinese war the Japanese got a footing in Gensan, Fusan and Chemulpo, and have revolutionized these ports. The streets are clean, the houses on the Japanese model, and there is an appearance of life and bustle about the street not seen in Corean villages. A rich Corean's house is artistic and his gardens charming with little ponds and summer houses and peeps of landscape for he is a born gardener. Stamp Collectors probably do not know that Corea has joined the Postal Union and that it has six varieties of stamps of its own, and also that there is a full issue of Japanese stamps with the word "Corea" surcharged on them. The Corean Post Office in Gensan is the most primitive of places and in one of the most out-of-the-way places, in the town, with no notice to signify that it is a

t office. It lies inside a little court-yard and consists of o little wooden rooms with a little wooden verandah. It ook the whole office establishment of five, including the Post Master-General, to sell us four sets of stamps, and when they came to calculate the cost, all differed. Thinking to puzzle them, I insisted on registering a letter to England. After much talk it was settled how many stamps extra I must put on, and to my astonishment the Post Master gave me a perfectly formal receipt, written in French. I have kept this as a curiosity as it is No. 1 registered letter sent from Gensan Corean Post Office. Ordinarily letters are posted at the Japanese Post Office, worked on the most modern lines. The letter duly arrived in England but two of the Corean stamps had been removed. Here I first had to deal in cash, a horrible brass coin with a hole in it of which 640 went to a dollar of two shillings. The stamps are valued in Poons and Cheungs, but how many of these go to a dollar or what part they are of each other, we could not make out, as all transactions in Corea are done in cash. The dollar is said to be in force, and the yen and its divisions, but even at four miles from Gensan when I offered a twenty-five sen piece (=6*d.*) in payment of some strawberries they would not have it at all, but a handful of cash worth perhaps two pence, were welcomed as princely payment.

We lived in a Corean inn on more or less Corean food, which was decidedly odd and unusual, including young dog, snails, aged fish and sea weed and millet cakes, but it might have been worse, and thanks to the Japanese the place was perfectly clean, and being summer they did not roast us at night. It is a common custom in the winter, to light a huge wood fire under the floor at night, and you sleep or rather suffocate on the top of this, and the more honoured guest you are, the hotter place you are given, and as rooms are tightly closed at night and are only six feet high by six or eight square the ordeal can be imagined. Afterwards we were the guests of the customs officer, a Norwegian, lent by the Chinese Customs, and with him we were back again in European life.

We explored a real Corean village free from Japanese restrictions, and a truly dirty place it was, built anyhow of mud and straw and filth unutterable in the gutters. The country is very hilly, range behind range, and generally they are almost bare of trees except in the more inaccessible ranges. The climate in summer at all events is superb, clear and bracing, and the scenery for ever changing, the land is extraordinarily fertile, and almost anything can be got to grow that we have in England. I say 'can be' advisedly, for there is little the Corean will grow that requires the slightest exertion, for he

is quite the laziest man in Asia. His costume is unique. A pair of huge baggy-padded cotton trousers, generally white but also dark blue, tied round at the ankles with bandages. These garments are so enormous that the seat literally hangs down to his knees. Long I puzzled over these until the night I had to go late on board; the Customs' boat and crew were ordered to be waiting for me, but, so late was I they had gone to sleep, and when I reached the boat there appeared to be no rowers, but, at the bottom we discovered four white sacks, which on being kicked, awoke, and soon a head appeared out of a hole at the top, and then I discovered the uses of these lower garments. They were clothes by day and sleeping suits by night. You untied them at the waist, drew them up over your head and tied them inside and there you were comfortable for the night.

For coats they have a long white blue garment with huge loose sleeves tied in, under the arms. If the man is of any dignity at all, his coat is almost ivory colour from the beating it gets when washed. The head dress is quaintest of all. The hair is done up in a knot on the back of the head with a huge amber comb in it round the forehead, a very tight band of platted horse hair about an inch deep. So tight is this band that it draws all the lines out of the face. On top of this again a hat like our silk hat with a straight brim but made of platted horse hair to look just like a meatsafe. Add to this a very long pipe with a small bowl and you have the Corean gentleman, and all Coreans are gentlemen and men of leisure. The coolie does have to do some work for his food, but he does it in his own methodical way and no power on earth can hurry him. The amount that they can carry is something astounding, a load of 200 lbs. being quite common and this for a distance of 10 or 12 miles. The load is fixed into a queer sort of rack, like a glazier's frame in England in which he carries his sheets of glass, except that it has pegs on which to fasten the load.

Corean women do almost all the work, either they are cooking, or working in the fields, or cutting wood, and all their spare time is spent beating their lord's clothes with wooden clubs to get the right shine into them. Their costume is peculiar, a loose petticoat and a boddice cut off in front to allow the breasts to hang out. They are most decidedly not good looking, though some of the small children are pretty and of a pink complexion.

I had almost forgotten to mention the funeral hat. For a month or more the males of the family wear this after a death, and during that time of course do no work—for the biggest of 'mushroom topies' is as a toadstool in comparison. It simply

ers up the whole head and you have to look underneath see what sort of thing it is that affects such a head dress.

From Gensan I went to Fusan, lower down the coast; ere there is a beautiful deep narrow well, sheltered harbour nd a very pretty town built on a low hill. This is the Japanese quarter, and everything is just as if one were in Japan and the Corean town lies two miles inland on the side of a bare hill.

Here the chief import is vast quantities of dried and horribly smelly fish from Gensan. They are packed together in huge bales, and one requires a vast imagination to realise it is human food. Once a year comes a ship-load of sea weed from Vladivostock—almost its sole export in the year is this ship-load, but to show what an important stake they have in Corean trade, the Port Arthur steamer call fortnightly at Fusan, though it neither loads nor unloads any cargo for the simple reason that it has nothing but Military stores, troops and railway materials on board.

The only other export Vladivostock has, are its furs, for from here are shipped the finest sables, sea otters, grey foxes and silver foxes that are to be bought in the London auctions. All furs come to London, which is the market for the world and sables sell from £3 to £50 a skin and sea otters have gone as high as £640 for a single skin, from £100 to £300 would be a reasonable price for a fine skin. Silver fox skins also run into the hundred, in pounds. But valuable as the skins are, they are not much account as cargo, as a parcel of skins worth £5000 can easily be lifted in two hands.

The export trade of Gensan is chiefly bar copper and lead, egrets, and other feathers and some small quantity of Corean silk gauze. Gold is now also beginning to be found by two pioneer companies. Mentioning gold, reminds me of the curiosity on board The 'Tairen Maru' as to the occupation of a solitary Englishman and his mother who had bought a small island in Broughton Bay near Gensan and had settled there. The other passengers consisted of Russians, Japanese, Chinese, French, and Italian, and as I was the only Englishman, they all applied to me for information. Did I know who he was? Why was he there? What was he doing? I told them who he was and that he was farming and that he was an amateur carpenter and metal worker, but this was much too prosaic. He could be at no good, as lights could be seen in his workshop after 9 P.M., when all decent folk were in bed, and no one would live by himself without an evil motive. The general opinion was that he was a coiner, making Russian roubles and Japanese yens and making a profit on the cheapness of silver. In the Far East no one credits Englishmen or England with anything but interested motives.

I must say a word for the Corean pony, for he is unique vice. There is no villainy he is not capable of. In hei generally under 12 hands; he has the teeth of a sixteen ha and his capacity for kicking is phenomenal. Nothing will h do in a reasonable way, not even eating his food. Give him his beans in a bucket and he will kick them about, but sink them here and there at the bottom of a trough of water and he will take three hours diving after them and trying to get them into his mouth. At about 1 A.M. he prefers his morning meal and by 4 or 5 he will have finished it and be ready to receive you. The Corean 'Yang baw' or landed gentry never think of riding without a servant holding each side of the bridle, and then he sits perched upon a sort of pack saddle very uncomfortable and very insecure.

IV.

From Fusan to Nagasaki is only twelve hours, but it can be very rough as was our fate, however, the Japanese managed their ship without the slightest fuss, though boats and fittings were swept overboard.

Japan is too well known to need describing, and I will merely indicate the tour that was sketched out for me, by a resident who knew the islands intimately. From Nagasaki I went to Moji by train, and here rejoined the "Tairen Maru" which coaled here. Moji lies opposite to Shimonoseki and is the beginning of the Inland sea. One has twenty hours of beautiful steaming through this sea, perfectly calm and with land on both sides. The first portion, which is very narrow, is the finest scenery, for later one gets too far from the shore to see distinctly, while just before Kobe is reached, it again becomes very beautiful, as the sea is scattered with small green islets, many of which have little Buddhist or Shinto shrines upon them. If preferred one can cross by the ferry at Moji and proceed by rail to Kobe, stopping at any places of interest *en route*. This railway is well arranged with sleeping berths, but the same cannot be said for the Nagasaki line or the lines to Tokio. They are huge long carriages, with seats down both sides and no means of sleeping or getting any food except such as the Japanese eat. But it is decidedly cheap travelling, not quite a penny a mile first class. In choosing a train too, it is well to note if it has first class carriages, for as often as not, they have not. I did not delay in Kobe, which is merely a modern Treaty Port with nothing of interest, and the Oriental Hotel is expensive and not good.

To Kioto, the old capital, is about three hours, and Jami's Hotel is infinitely the best, but, part has recently been burned down, and one probably cannot get rooms. The Kioto Hotel

arge, modern, and reasonable, but the food is decidedly bad, t, on the other hand, the managers do everything possible or you and will take you to the theatre, or a Geisha dance or a native dinner or a boxing competition, in fact anything you want to see. Kioto is a fascinating town and full of places of interest, while near it lie Nara, Osaka, Lake Biwa and the Rapids, all of which should be seen. The new canal from Lake Biwa is a marvellous bit of engineering, consisting of two tunnels, one which takes half an hour to go through, a slide for boats and a means of utilising the fall of the water for lighting with electricity and supplying motive power for the trams for the whole of Kioto. The shops of the town also are worth several visits, as here are made the best cloisonne ware, damascene work, bronzes, carved ivory, porcelain, gold lacquer, embroideries and brocades. Here one sees work such as never reaches the English market, of fabulous price and marvellous workmanship, for the rich Japanese will have nothing but the best and do not mind paying heavily.

Leaving Kioto I took a route not usually followed by tourists, for I alighted at Gifu and stayed at a Japanese inn in order to witness the cormorant fishing. This is exceedingly weird and worth a visit, but it can only be seen on dark nights. You hire a boat and are poled to the spot of the fishing; here there are several largish boats, each with a huge brazier of blazing wood hanging over the bows, while just behind it, stands a man holding seven or eight strings in his hand by which he controls as many cormorants who are swimming in the water, diving at the fish who come to the light. As soon as one of them half swallows a fish, he is pulled up and made to disgorge and then put back again and so on till a few dozen small fish are caught.

From Gifu to Nagya is only a few hours. Here there is a good hotel, and the castle and its golden dolphins are worth a visit. This is also a centre for the Japanese army and a very smart lot of men they show themselves to be; but, to our notions their cavalry is grotesque, mounted on ponies and without any seat, so that any unevenness in the ground throws the line out of order. Nagya has also some fine cloisonne work and a very pretty manufacture of China. Leaving Nagya by the night train I reached Gotemba, a small roadside station, at 5 A.M. This is the nearest station for the ascent of Fujiyama, but facing the opposite way I walked to the Otomitoga Pass, a stiff eight-mile climb from which the view of Fuji is unequalled and quite different from the aspects seen from Hakone or Denoshima or Yokohama. From the Pass to Miyanoshita the most delightful hill station in Japan, is six miles of up and down climbing, over very rough stony paths.

Japanese paths and roads cannot boast of their goodn except that the grade is good, for they are generally cover with loose, very sharp stones or else are made of river-wor pebbles and both are painful walking. The usual way to g to Miyanoshita is to take the train to Kozu and then the electric train to Yomoto and then a rikisha up the ghaut. One's luggage in either case is carried by coolies and 100 lbs. is considered a reasonable load.

Miyanoshita has a good hotel in beautiful scenery, its great feature being its natural baths, hot, cold and sulphur water being laid on, direct from the hill sides into large deep wooden troughs. One's bath or baths were one of the features of the day. At six miles distance is Lake Hakone, a beautiful spot surrounded by tree covered hills, while in the distance is the snow-covered peak of Fujigama, which on a calm day is mirrored in the lake. The sulphur baths on an island are rather a feature, and one is rather surpised at first to find men, women and children all bathing together clothed in innocence. Another place to visit are the sulphur mountains, a more uncanny spot could not be found. Steam issues from cracks, in the ground, here and there are streams of boiling water and elsewhere great deposits of sulphur exude from the ground, while the ground sounds hollow and is hot to touch. Even here is the omnipresent tea house and kisin beer, a very good light Lager the Japanese make.

Descending to Yomoto, and thence by train to Kozu, I took a riksha to the sacred isle of Denoshima which at high tide is surrounded by water. The island is tree covered and rises high from the waves with one long steep street running up to the principal temple. Thence winding paths and steps take one to various temples and shrines, each of which commands a different view, and finally on the opposite side of the island one gets a grand view of Fuji. Below and covered at high tide is a huge cave running far into the rocks and now used as Buddhist temples and place of pilgrimage. From Denoshima I continued by riksha to Kumakura to see the great bronze Buddha. It is a magnificent figure and is situated in the middle of a charming garden. From here one goes by train either to Tokio or Yokohama, about two hours' run.

Yokohama is like Kobe with nothing of interest except its curio shops which are specially intended for the tourist and one pays accordingly. The Grand and the Oriental Hotels are both good in every way, but it is best to get on to Tokio, two hours by train. The big Tokio Hotel is bad and expensive, and if one can get a room at the Metropole, one is lucky, for the manager is a Frenchman, but, as a rule, it is full of the various Legation officials and their friends. Tokio is huge

there is a good deal to see, and a good deal one cannot see without special passes from the Embassy, but Sheba and Neno Parks afford two days' amusement and the Yoshiwara is interesting as showing the way they manage such things in Japan.

Last of all comes Nikko, the jewel of Japan. It is 5 hours by train north of Tokio and is situated high up in the hills in the midst of lovely scenery. The old Shogun who chose this as his burial ground had an eye for beauty, and his countrymen in building his temple and tomb have tried to vie with nature in beauty. Iyeyasu and Iyemetsu, the two greatest of the Shoguns, lie buried here each with a temple as perfect as it can be made. Other temples are also here and a charming Japanese garden. Everything in Nikho is beautiful, and even the hotel is not bad. Seven miles and higher up in the mountains lies Chusenji Lake, a lovely spot with a little hotel and seven miles beyond the Yomoto Lake, still more beautiful, and on the road to each is a beautiful water-fall besides several at short distances. The climate at these two latter places is splendid owing to the elevation, except for the rainfall which is heavy.

From here I returned to Yokohama to catch the "Empress of India" for Vancouver. The railway goes right to the north of the island and the Sacred Islands, and the exploded volcanoes are well worth a visit, and so is Hakodate, the northern naval fortress.

My trip through Japan took me three weeks, during which I saw most of the most interesting places in the two islands. Everything in the country is pleasant, and one regrets leaving it in a way that one does not other eastern countries. Japan used to be cheap to travel in, but visitors must not expect this now, as after the war, the prices of everything have risen and heavy import duties have been imposed. Hotels are generally from 10 to 14 shillings a day, rikshas from two to four shillings or double if two men are required, as they are on hilly or long journeys. Ponies are cheap to hire and vile to ride. Guides cost about three shillings a day, but a riksha boy from a hotel talks enough English for practical purposes, and when I left Kioto behind I took a riksha boy with me as a sort of guide for half a crown a day. When I engaged a riksha he acted as second coolie, and at native inns he saw to my food and other requirements. I never employed the regular guide and do not think it necessary, if your boy is intelligent. I found £1 a day just covered expenses including rail, drinks, etc., but excluding curios that I bought. One word in favour of the people of Japan. Everywhere a stranger is treated with the utmost politeness, and no pains are spared to make his visit pleasant, and in return it is but fair that he

should not call the people to their faces 'Japs.' It may be a conveniently short word, but it is decidedly offensive to the inhabitants, and therefore to be avoided.

The best months to visit Japan are from April to the end of June, as the plum and cherry blossom is then in its beauty, followed by the azalias and the irises and wisterias. July, August, September and October are hot and wet, but so are most of the months, as half the days in the year are rainy. November to January are beautiful months, as the chrysanthemums are in full bloom, but they are cold and a Japanese house is a chilly place even on rainy days and with frost and snow about must be too cold to please an Anglo-Indian.

V.

From Yokohama one can either go to San Francisco by the American Line, or the Occidental Oriental or the Tokio Kisen Kaisha. The latter is a Japanese line of three excellent boats, one of which I went to see. It was in every way as good as the European boats, and the cabins were much better fitted than the boats that run to India, being larger and fitted with a chest of drawers and hanging cupboard. The menu if I may judge from a dinner was as good and decidedly less solid than the feeding on an English ship. If one wishes to go *viâ* Canada and not America, then the Empress Line takes one to Vancouver the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This is by far the quicker route, and the steamers are all that can be desired. Cabins exceptionally good, food good, and the whole ship kept spotlessly clean, the crew being entirely English and the stewards all Chinese. The run is thirteen days, and after the first two days it is very cold indeed and one sees little of the sun. During May, June and July one can count on a smooth passage, but however smooth the sea is, there is a constant steady swell which gives the ship a long slow roll. The ship touches at the quarantine station in British Columbia, and all Chinese passengers and crew are disinfected, and passengers for Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, and for the island generally are transferred into a small steamer. The run from the quarantine station to Vancouver is exceedingly beautiful, as the channel gets narrower and narrower, shut in on both sides, by fir-covered hills with Mount Baker towering up behind almost as perfect a peak as the great Fujiyama of Japan. For hours the snowy summit of Mount Baker is in view, and as the course changes many splendid views are to be got.

Vancouver harbour is completely landlocked and very beautiful as it is wooded on all sides and the town rises on a hillside overlooking the harbour.

Vancouver itself is well laid out with broad streets and ne good shops and many churches of different persuasions, d still more banks; but the whole place had a sleepy ppearance, as though waiting for business to arrive. Men were idling in their gardens or leisurely walking about the streets, a great contrast to the perpetual bustle of the more eastern cities.

There is an excellent hotel here, run by the Canadian Pacific Railway, in fact throughout their whole line wherever a hotel is needed they have built one, and they are all good and moderate in prices, and everything possible is done for the convenience of the Trans-Pacific passengers. Rooms are booked for him by telegraph at any of the hotels, or berths reserved on the trains, or an Atlantic passage engaged free of charge. Before leaving the steamer all baggage not required for the overland journey, is examined by the Customs Officers and checked through to New York, Boston, or Quebec, and there is nothing further to be done except to ask for it at the wharf at the other side of America. Baggage needed on the overland journey is examined in the station next day, but it is a mere farce for people holding through tickets. When, however, the passenger reaches Toronto or Montreal, if going thence to the States, he must have his baggage passed again by the American Customs, who are much more strict and give trouble over any trifling purchases in Japan or China; these therefore it is advisable to have checked right through from the steamer at Vancouver to the wharf in New York, and they are then not examined. Canadian trains are on the corridor system and of various classes called sleeping bars, first class, tourist, and colonial. The last-named is really our English third class and is about a penny a mile. They are plain wooden seats which at night can be converted into bunks, the passenger supplying his own bedding. There is also a cooking place in each car so that the passengers can, if they wish, cook their own food.

Tourist cars are almost similar to first class, but cheaper and only run on certain trains. First class are generally two pence a mile, though on mountain grades much more is charged. They are generally most uncomfortable to our notions. A long car with seats for two like the top of an omnibus down both sides. The seats are too narrow for two people especially on long journeys, there is nothing for your head to rest against, and there is no room even for the small bag—or "grip" as the Yankee calls it—which you are allowed to bring into the carriage. People walk up and down constantly and jostle you if you have the outer seat and generally it is not at all desirable. I tried the experiment from Quebec to Montreal, a five hours' run and I certainly shall not do it again.

Then there is the sleeping car, for this you pay first fare, plus an extra charge of about £1 a day and night, the day it is generally one or one-and-a-half dollars and the night two or three dollars. These cars are exceeding well fitted and look very luxurious but they are not really very comfortable. The cushions are thick plush or velvet, which is a horribly hot thing to sit on for hours at a time. Then too they have no means of keeping out the sun, except miserable blinds which refuse to keep down. Consequently the afternoon sun streams in and makes one side unbearable in the summer. The night arrangements, however, are the worst. Then your seat is converted into a bed and another one is let down from overhead. Curtains are hung down in front of these berths and your bag or bags are piled in the gangway as there is no room under the seats.

Once, therefore, your bed is made up you have no place to sit unless there happens to be any room in the smoking room at the end of the car, but that only holds five people and is also the place where everyone has to wash.

To undress, you must stand in the gangway and your clothes must be piled up on your bed as there is no place to put them. Over you, there may be a lady and a baby sleeping, or you may be over them, for there is no distinction made as to sex. Ladies have a little compartment to dress in, but men dress where they can, and you are lucky if the water has not run short by the time you want to wash in the morning. The American makes much of his railway trains, but, in my humble opinion, they are most undesirable and not to be compared to an Indian first class carriage. They are very big and gorgeous in plush, and inlaid wood and mirrors and a black porter to make your bed, sell you books and fruit and tobacco but, in privacy, decency, and the small comforts that are most essential in travelling, they are entirely lacking. And this is hardly to be wondered at, for very few but English travellers undress when they turn in for the night, or feel inconvenienced by want of water or privacy. The top berth in hot weather is a fearful place as it has no vetilations whatever and is on a level with the gas burners. The trains after the Rockies are crossed, have dining cars attached, open to sleeping car and first class passengers. The food supplied is good and very reasonable, but all liquors are excessively dear and water is the almost universal drink. Until the Rockies are crossed, meals are served at very nice hotels, built on the Chalet principle at places where the scenery is very fine and worthy of a visit—the three are Revelstoke and Glacier in the Selkirk mountains and Field in the Rockies. The food supplied is excellent, especially the fish, fruit and milk, but the

endance is astonishingly bad. Should you ask for a wine it will have to be hunted for, and when you have ordered hat you want it is doubtful if it will be supplied before you ave finished. This I noticed in every hotel I stayed in in Canada, and even at Banff, the best of the hotels of the railway, the waiting was so slow that an ordinary dinner took over an hour. I mentioned this to an American I was dining with and asked him if it was so in his country. "You should "just stay at the Union Hotel, New York, two blocks down "from the depôt, they give you ten courses in fifteen minutes. "That is what we do."

I did not stay at the Union Hotel as this seemed too rapid for a new comer to start upon, but at Niagara I got six courses in five minutes! The plan is simple and is called "dining American fashion." The waiter brought me the bill of fare and asked for my orders. I chose soup, "Yaas and" So I chose a fish course. "Yaas and?" So I ordered an entreé. Still the same, so I ordered the joint and finally game. Then I refused to go further. My friend ordered a complete dinner. Then we waited and at last our waiter dashed upon us. Soup, fish, entreé, joint, and game were all put down in front of me at once, each on a small dish. After a pause my friend's dinner arrived complete even to the ice! This accounted for a dinner in fifteen minutes. I afterwards watched feeding going on round me and noticed that three courses are frequently eaten at one and the same time. After this I dined "English fashion," but the delay was terrible and the waiter made a favour of the whole thing. To get any dinner at all it was necessary to give him a shilling to lead off with each meal. The only two exorbitant expenses in America and Canada were, so far as I found, tips and cab fares. Nothing under a shilling, or 'a quarter' as it is called, was accepted and for any reasonable service double. A cab fare was seldom less than ten shillings. From Boston City Hotel to the steamer wharf possibly a mile-and-a-half was twelve shillings, and this I learned was correct. Of course no one uses cabs as trains go everywhere, but with luggage one is compelled to, unless you send it all by a Transfer Company at two shillings a package, but there is a risk of its not arriving in time.

The journey over the Rockies was through lovely scenery and I broke the journey at Glacier House, Field and Laggan and Banff at each of which there is an abundance of beautiful scenery to see and a very good hotel to stay in. Glacier is well worth a halt to climb the Glacier and to see some of the magnificent peaks surrounding the place. Field also is exceedingly beautiful and has several excursions, one to a fine natural bridge over a torrent, another to a beautiful lake

with a fir-covered island in the centre and the snow-cover mountains on the other side and a still finer side is to a ma nificent cascade. The trails are cut through thick fir an spruce forests and are always cool even at midday. Sure-footed ponies can be hired at the hotels which canter all day over the most astonishingly bad tracks without coming down ; though, to walk along them is penance owing to the roots and stumps.

Laggan is a charming little Chalet, high up in the Rockies, on the edge of a beautiful lake in which are reflected the snow mountains in front and the fir woods on both sides. Higher up is another beautiful lake, and still higher, at 7,000 feet, a third just on the margin of the snow line. The view from here is superb in every direction.

Banff is the show place of the Rockies and has a splendidly situated hotel on the Bow River. To my mind it is not as beautiful as the other places, but is much larger and is a social centre and visited yearly by the Governor. Prices here are much higher than elsewhere, and if one place had to be left out I should advice this one.

From Banff we went straight to Port William on Lake Superior. Here we left the train and went on board the 'Manitoba," one of the railway steamers that run across to Owen Sound and so by rail to Toronto.

These steamers are very comfortable and a delightful break from the rail journey, and for no extra fee one is fed and given a cabin for the two days' run.

The cause of this was that when the Canadian Pacific wanted to join up their line at North Bay with Toronto they were prevented from doing so, as the Grand Trunk Line already ran from Toronto to North Bay ; they therefore could only get running powers over the Grand Trunk. To avoid the loss they built their line to Owen Sound and from there to Port William they run a thrice weekly steamer service each way and in order to get all the passengers carry them from Port William to Toronto inclusive of food and cabin for the same rate as first class by rail from Port William *viâ* North Bay to Toronto. For once the quarrels of railways have benefited the public. The two days on the steamer through Lake Superior and Huron are very pleasant and the scenery is frequently beautiful. The Locks at Sault St. Marie between the two Lakes are magnificent works and will take a 5,000 ton boat. They are free to all ships, two being owned by America and one by Canada. The town of Sault St. Marie had nothing of interest in it except perhaps an astonishing number of bars.

The quickest route to New York or Montreal is of course by rail direct to Montreal and thence to New York, the whole

rney from Vancouver to Montreal taking 100 hours with elve more to New York. An alternative to New York is by il to North Bay and so to Toronto and thence *viâ* Buffalo o New York by the "States Express" which is the fastest and most luxurious of the American trains.

For travellers not in so great a hurry, however, the Lake route to Toronto is far preferable, as Niagara can then be reached by steamer across Lake Ontario and up the Niagara river. This is a very pleasant route, and from Niagara the journey can be continued by rail to Buffalo and so to New York, or by returning to Toronto, there is rail to Montreal or better the Richlieu Steamers which go down the St. Laurence as far as Quebec.

The town of Toronto is well situated on the shore of the Lake and is laid out with wide well-planted streets. The houses and gardens are large and well kept, and the whole town has an air of prosperity and an abundance of trade. The public buildings are exceptionally fine and stand in well-kept gardens. Niagara is half Canadian and half American and the Canadian side is decidedly the best to see the Falls from, though the American side is the better for seeing the gorge. One can cross from Toronto in the morning, go by the electric railway along the Canadian side, see the Falls for an indefinite time, cross over to the American side, see the gorge, lunch and return to Toronto by the evening boat, without any hurry at all. The trip down the St. Lawrence is exceedingly beautiful especially the Thousand Islands and later when the Rapids are reached. There are a long series of these of which the Lachine are the finest and one feels the steamer glide down the fall. Montreal is reached in the afternoon and Quebec next morning. Montreal has a fine appearance thanks to the Mountain—a ridge that runs at the back of the town and on which are some of the finest houses and gardens. This is the favourite drive and there are views in every direction. The streets of the town are not nearly so fine as Toronto, but there is ample business. The only, at all fine part, is the Queen's Square in which is the Station and a fine Church and the Queen's hotel. The best hotel is the Place Viger run by the C. P. R., but it is far away at their other station; however, the Queen's is not to be despised and it is close to the Central Station. From Montreal I travelled by C. P. R. to St. John's and Halifax on the extreme East. Both are interesting towns and have fine scenery, but there is nothing striking about them. Then by the Inter-Colonial Railway I went to North Sydney in Cape Breton Island. The scenery is quiet grass-land with low hills and small fir forests until this Island is reached. Then the line runs along the Bedeck Lakes—lovely

water and hill scenery. These Lakes are salt water a practically divide the island from North to South.

VI.

Cape Breton Island and the country round New Galloway has fine trout and salmon fishing and Morse deer shooting but, all good water and land has got into the hands of American Sporting Clubs and there was no chance of any sport. I therefore went on to North Sydney and there crossed by the 'Bruce' in seven hours to Port aux Basques, the southern port of Newfoundland, and the terminus of the new railway which now runs from end to end of the island—Port aux Basques to St. John's, the capital of the island. The total length is nearly 500 miles and was built by a contractor, Reid by name, for the British Government, as an attempt to help the island aft the terrible commercial crash which had bankrupted all na industries. The line was handed over to the Newfoundla Government and they sold it, with certain restrictions to Reid for one-sixth of what they had paid him to build it. He has to run a certain number of trains, three goods and three passenger each way per week and charge only certain rates.

In addition he has a line of steamers which visit all the ports of the island, and run to Labrador and by them and the railway he has a monopoly of the carrying trade of the island. The whole politics of the island are now, leaving alone the desire to be severed from England and united to the States, a struggle between Reid and the party now in power, who fear the monopoly of everything in Reid's hands will bring the island back to as bad a condition as after the crash. Reid's party claim that by letting the railway be turned into a company, there will be money to open up the forests, the lumber trade and the mines; their opponents would prefer to see Reid crippled and the money found elsewhere for opening up the undoubted wealth of the island in minerals and timber. So, meanwhile, nothing is done and excessive import duties are levied to pay for the working of the island. These duties are simply prohibitive, especially if there is any industry in the island which might be affected. There is one man in St. John's who makes a limited quantity of very inferior jams, to protect him, a duty of 80 per cent. on English jams, 1*s.* levied. On Egyptian cigarettes which cost me one dollar a hundred in Egypt (4*s.* 2*d.*) I had to pay 10*s.* duty, and similarly on cheroots (60 per cent. duty *ad valorem* plus four dollars a pound).

The 'Bruce' steamer, named after the Governor of the Island, is as comfortable a boat as could be desired, good cabins, good saloon and powerful engines. On landing at Port aux Basques, the customs are vexatious, unless one mentions that one is on

sporting tour. Guns, rods, cartridges, and provisions will then e passed in, duty free. It is well here to take out a license o shoot caribou, as, otherwise, one is liable to much delay, the Magistrates being few and far between. It is impossible to avoid this tax as no heads can leave the island without the license being produced. A fine of forty dollars a head is levied for any caribou shot without a license.

The railway is narrow guage and very rough travelling and the corners sometimes alarmingly sharp, but the line runs through most beautiful scenery from end to end and there is perpetual change of scene. Generally it is through spruce and larch and fir and birch forests, but at intervals beautiful lakes are skirted, of which I may mention specially St. George's Pond, about six miles long by two wide, The Red Indian Ponds, over sixty miles long by ten feet broad, and the Great Deer Pond, over fifty miles long. These are surrounded by forest with either tree clad hills rising behind, or else the bare red 'Barrens' rising in the distance. These are huge uplands free of timber but covered with ferns, bracken and moss, the haunts of the caribou and of grouse. At other times the line approaches the coast and runs past beautiful harbours such as St. George's Bay or Bay of Isles, the latter as beautiful a fiord as could be found anywhere. For some miles the Humber River, famous for its fishing, is skirted, and again later on some strange-shaped ranges of hills well named, Top Sails, and Main Top. The Journey from Port aux Basques to St. John's is 26 hours and the travelling not uncomfortable, as the train has an excellent sleeping car attached, and there is also a dining car where food of a plain kind can be got at the old-fashioned hours of dinner at 2 and supper at 7. No liquor is procurable, but fortunately Newfoundland Water is particularly good and one soon becomes resigned. So far as I discovered the only places in the Island where one can buy a drink is at St. John's, though of course if staying at the Log Cabin one can get anything one requires.

The Log Cabin is a most delightfully situated shooting box on the edge of St. George's Pond, about five hours from Port aux Basques and half way between St. George's Bay and The Bay of Isles, which are the nearest neighbours, distant twenty miles. It is owned by three young Englishmen, who came out originally for sport and to colonise, but who have now enlarged their house to take in twenty visitors. Here you can live in absolute comfort and get the only late dinner the island boasts of, except perhaps, at Government house. The house is a three storey log building with a lawn running down to the line and here all trains stop. On one side is a little trout stream running into the lake in front of the house. No better

situation could have been chosen and inside the house is equa pleasant, a good library of English novels and poets, comfortable sitting room full of good engravings, and painting old China, silver, and curios from all parts of the world, and a large dining room with a well-kept table, bright with flowers and silver. The whole place is as unlike anything else in the island, as one could well imagine, for the ordinary inn or lodgings are primitive to a degree. The great feature of the Log Cabin is that it lays itself out for people seeking sport. The Harry's Brook which runs in and out of the lake, is as fine a salmon stream as could be wished, it can be fished in part from the cabin and lower down a small hut for two men has been built which gives access to the best pools. Across the lake and about twelve miles away are the Barrens. On these half-a-dozen or more huts, each for two sportsmen have been built, in the best places for caribou shooting. The cabin supplies first class guides, who cook and act as beasts of burden and track for you, and generally insure your getting good sport. Food is arranged for, from the cabin, and though not very luxurious, it is wholesome and one is always hungry enough to relish it, and until one has slept on a green spruce bough bed, one does not know what a good bed is.

I was at the Log Cabin and its forest huts a fortnight and got good salmon and trout fishing and excellent caribou sport. A caribou head is a splendid trophy, for he is the biggest of the reindeer, almost as large in body as the moose and with a spread of horn greater than the Norwegian elk or the wapiti. The skin also makes a fine rug, as it is covered with lon grey-brown hair, and as leather for mocassins or boots, canno be equalled. The flesh is particularly good and unlike most venison one does not tire of it. In the island it takes the place of beef during the shooting season. There is a good taxidermist in St. John's who sets up a head well and reasonably, and, thanks to the climate being cool, one runs little risk of the skin perishing before it can reach him. A good stag stands fifty-five inches at the shoulder and a spread of horn of forty-five inches, from tip to tip, width from thirty-five to forty-seven points, males and females alike carrying horns. Of course there are many other places in the island where sport is good and where accommodation can be found, for almost every house owner is willing to take in a lodger, but there is no place where one can be half as comfortable, or get as good sport as at the Log Cabin. Other places I may mention are kept by an Italian at Bay St. George, who always takes in sportsmen, but he is not particular how many he puts in one room. Here too the only sport is salmon and trout and sea fishing, as the Barrens are too far away. At the Bay of Isles there is a fairly comfortable inn and

eral lodging places,—this is near the Humber River famous its trout.

St. John's has a hotel and a very miserable place it is, but eid is building a first class one, which, when finished, will be no doubt thoroughly good. At Placentia and Conception Bay there are places where lodgings can be got and also good fishing. Charges vary from six shillings a day at the smaller lodgings, to ten shillings at the cabin. A guide is four or six shillings a day and is invaluable, boats and canoes are about 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, at least that is what was charged at the cabin. There are no other expenses except liquor, which, owing to the import duties, is expensive, roughly about double the English price or a little less perhaps.

The climate from May to September is beautifully clear and sunny and fogs do not exist, except on the coast. Rain there is in abundance, but a fisherman does not object to that. The me for salmon is up to August, though after that they f course be caught. Caribou shooting begins July 15th, but ads are not good before the end of August. There is a close time from September 15th, and after that is the best shooting up to the end of the year. Snow falls in October or November and by the end of December the place is frozen up, and then it is that the islanders do their shooting as they can get to close quarters on their snow shoes and can also drag away the carcase on sledges. August and September are beautiful months, with bright sunshine and a clear fresh air but the nights are always cold. The chief drawbacks are the mosquitos and sandflies. The former I did not mind but the latter are maddening, for they come in clouds after sundown and their bites are very irritating and they are too small to keep out with ordinary mosquito curtains. When fishing they and ordinary flies sorely try one's patience. The island has good ptarmigan shooting from August 15th onwards and in the winter, black and brown bears are not uncommon. Snipe of a very strong winged class abound, but they require a deal of shooting.

Anyone going to Newfoundland for sport should take his oldest, roughest clothes and very strong boots, as one is constantly wet through in the long ferns and going over bogs—mocassins are far more serviceable for walking in the woods, but they require practice to be able to wear. For fishing a pair of waders are a great comfort. Ammunition should be brought. This can be got in the Island, but the Scotch ones are all good. Jack Scot and "the Doctor" and a local one being the best.

For those not anxious for sport Newfoundland is more than worth a visit, for it is beautiful from end to end and the

air acts like a tonic. The steamers run round the island, new and comfortable and intended for passenger traffic. the fiords with which the coasts abound are entered, and each beautiful and many of them grander than the Norwegian on The same steamers cross over to Labrador, which from a accounts is a sportsman's paradise, and during June, July and August the climate is good.

Leaving by the 'Bruce' I crossed back to North Sydney and visited the iron smelting works recently started there, owing to the discovery of a very high class iron in Belle Island near to St. John's. From a small port the place is rising by leaps and bounds into a large town and I found a room could not be hired for under a pound a day. Leaving in the evening by a small steamer I went through the Bedeck Lakes, which divide Cape Breton Island from north to south. The scenery is exceedingly fine especially at the Grand Narrows. The next evening one arrives at Mulgrave south of the island and rejoins the train. Travelling *via* and the Inter-Colonial Railway I reached Quebec in twenty-hours. This railway is purely Canadian State property and runs entirely in Canadian soil, having been built at the time of the last American scare. It runs from Halifax to Montreal with branch lines to Cape Breton Isle, Prince Edward's Isle and New Brunswick. The train lands one at Lewis on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence to Quebec and one is ferried across, thus getting a splendid view of the two places which rise grandly from the river and by their forts command the St. Lawrence. Nothing could be finer than the situation Upper Quebec, situated as it is on the cliffs and it would hard to find a more beautiful picture. Lower Quebec lies along the river under the cliffs and is dirty and built of narrow streets and lacks the busy appearance of Montreal—due so Canadians say to its inhabitants being Canadian French—certain it is one hears hardly a word of English spoken and only very unintelligible French. The Upper Town has some fine streets, notably the one in which the Houses of Parliament are. The Canadian Pacific Hotel, Chateau Frontenac, on Dufferin Terrace on the face of the cliff overlooking the river is very fine in appearance and comfortable inside.

The Falls of Montmorency some distance down the river are fine and well worth a visit. These and the Plains of Abraham are the show places.

Leaving Quebec by the C. P. R. I travelled to Montreal and so direct to Boston and left there by a new Cunard boat, the "Saxonia," 14,000 tons. This Boston Line has much to recommend it, the ships are very large and being heavily loaded, travel very smoothly in bad weather, and being driven only to

knots do not roll and vibrate in the way the mail boats They are exceedingly comfortable, the cabins being od and food excellent, and the run is only one day more an the Liners and the fare less.

The direct route from Newfoundland would have been either by the Anchor Line direct from St. John's, but the boats are small, old, and slow. Otherwise by rail to Quebec or Halifax for the Dominion, Anchor or Beaver Lines, all of which have new and large 12,000 ton boats, or else direct to Boston or New York *viâ* St. John's (U. S.) by the Boston and Maine Railway.

The whole journey from India and back *viâ* the Suez Canal took me six months and inclusive of steamers, hotels, trains and all extra, cost under £300 which is cheaper than for what one could live comfortably in England.

F. A. COLERIDGE.

ART. III.—POSTAL REFORMS.

IT may be said in preface, that when making suggestions for reforms, it is not intended as an inditement against the Indian Post Office, for that Department is not directly responsible for the tariffs which are settled by the Government of India. There are also other matters besides tariffs which may be recommended by the head of a department, but not sanctioned by Government. For instance, some years ago, the British Post Office recommended the introduction of the "cash on delivery" system, another name for our Valuable Payable Post, but this was not sanctioned by the Treasury. And, although admitting that the Indian Post Office is one of the most progressive postal systems, and is wonderfully well managed considering the poorly paid staff with which it is worked, yet it will not be denied that there is still room for improvement and simplicity, and this perhaps has merely to be pointed out to be adopted. Mr. F. E. Baines, C.B., late Assistant Secretary, in his work *Forty Years at the Post Office* pays the following compliment:—"The Indian Post Office is a branch of Government to which one has always been insensibly drawn by the prompt and intelligent hold it takes of official questions. Such, at all events, has been my experience; and although Anglo-Indian administration rather lends itself to forms, indents and similar devices, yet the Indian Post Office is singularly free—more so, perhaps, than we are at home—from anything approaching the obstruction of routine or pedantic insistence on the letter, rather than the spirit of an agreement. Hence, both the cordial co-operation of the delegate, Mr. James, and the high administrative qualities of the chief, Mr. Fanshawe, are not easily forgotten."

When considering reforms, the point of primary importance is the tariffs, and the present brief article will be confined to a consideration of this subject. By turning to the *Postal Guide* it will be seen that there are six inland rates, namely those for (1) post-cards, (2) letters, (3) packets, (4) registered newspapers, (5) registered parcels, and (6) unregistered parcels. These are condensed in a formidable schedule of sixteen columns. Let us examine each separately.

The quarter anna post-card is the cheapest in the world. But what can be said in favour of having two different sizes of post-cards? If one wishes to send a post-card by the inland post, the dimensions must be $4\frac{6}{8}$ inches by 3 inches, whereas one sent by the foreign post must be $4\frac{6}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It would be more simple to have only one size, that adopted

[illegible]r international correspondence. This has been recognised [illegible] England, where it has been agreed that the inland post-card shall be manufactured the same size as the international one.

A half anna letter rate is also cheap, and the low charge suitable for a poor country like India, but the half tola allowed for the half anna is very light, and the incident of increase one and a half tolas for each anna is not the simplest for calculation. Compare this with the more liberal allowance in England, namely, 1*d.* for 4 ozs. (1 anna for 9·7 tolas), and for each additional 2 ozs. ½*d.* (½ anna for each additional 4·8 tolas). A half tola is too small as an initial weight for modern ideas. It may suit natives who use small scraps of flimsy paper and the embossed small half anna envelope, supplied merely at the cost of the stamp by a paternal department, in order to induce the natives to adopt a sufficiently large covering, for recording the address and to allow space for the post marks. But it does not allow the indulgence of European ideas as to the use of substantial writing paper, and it is also too small for most commercial communications and invoices. A rate of half an anna for each tola would be almost an ideal one, suitable to all classes of the community and very simple for calculation. Probably the time is not far distant when this desirable reform will be conceded by the Government. The three columns now given in the schedule to explain the letter rate, could then be reduced to one column, namely, "½ anna per tola"—almost as simple as it could well be made.

The present packet tariff, half anna for each ten tolas, is very suitable, but why not assimilate the rates for registered newspapers, and place this latter at half the packet rates? At present, a registered newspaper weighing four tolas, can be sent for quarter of an anna, and one weighing twenty tolas for half an anna, these being half packet rates. The exception is in the case of registered newspapers weighing between four and ten tolas. It is not understood why four tolas has been selected as an initial limit of weight instead of ten, except merely to benefit unreliable native prints to the exclusion of the more reliable English ones. It is recognised that newspapers are a necessity to present conditions of civilisation, and that they exercise an educational effect on the people, so in some countries, as for instance New South Wales and Tasmania, they are allowed to be sent inland free of postage, while in the majority of others they are carried at rates which just pay for their handling. In France newspapers weighing less than fifty grammes, or 1·7 ounces, may be sent within the department (district) in which they are published for one centime, or one-tenth of a penny, or about one pie.

It would simplify matters if the tariff for registered newspapers was simply—"half packet rates." There is one point which is difficult to understand, and that is why the Government is so culpably negligent in making use of its own resources. Section 20 of the Post Office Act, prohibits the sending by inland post, a newspaper having on it any words, marks or designs of a seditious, scurrilous, threatening or grossly offensive character. It would not be practicable for the Post Office to have every newspaper read before it was allowed to circulate through the Post, and so this prohibition is really ignored. But a copy of every newspaper is sent to Government and is supposed to undergo some scrutiny, and should any editor persist in indulging in sedition after warning, it would be a very simple matter for the Local Government to direct the Post Office to stop the circulation of that paper by the aid of Government machinery. This would mean extinction for the paper, and be more effective and simple than a troublesome and expensive prosecution, enabling the editor to pose as a martyr before a sympathising native public. In England and the Colonies the use of the Post would have been withdrawn for the sending of lottery circulars and betting offers, if it had been feasible to have detected this baneful stuff in transit, and we have only to turn to the Criminal Code to see the relative condignity of sedition and betting in the eyes of the law.

Lastly, as to the two different rates for parcels, it would greatly simplify matters if the present cumbrous designation "unregistered parcels" and "registered parcels" was abolished. Have one rate for *all* parcels, as for *all* letters, and let there be a fee of two annas for registration the same as is now charged for registering a parcel under twenty tolas. The custom of charging two annas for registering a small parcel and four for a large cannot be defended, as the work involved in both cases is the same. The same fee is charged for registering a small letter as for registering a large one, and the present system of having two different rates for "unregistered" and "registered" parcels is not only absurdly intricate, but there is nothing to be urged on its behalf. The rate, four annas for half a pound for a "registered" parcel, and two annas for half a pound for an "unregistered" parcel is susceptible of improvement. Compare this with three pence for one pound, and four pence for two pounds, of the English Post Office. The present "unregistered" parcel rates might continue, and a fixed registration fee of two annas charged for any parcel that is required to be registered. Leaving out of consideration the excellent Value-Payable system, the parcel work in India has made comparatively little progress

ince its introduction in 1854. The great parcel growth of he German Post Office between the years 1872-1882 is attributed to the remarkably cheap and simple rates of postage that were introduced. Increase the number of parcels and you incidentally increase the revenue in other branches. When the parcel post was introduced into Italy, the administration estimated that each parcel had given rise to two letters, or at least to two post-cards, and it was also found that the money-orders had increased, as the contents of many of the parcels were paid by money orders.

The wonderful progress made in all postal administrations within the last fifty years is due to improved facilities and more enlightened methods, and the lessons are patent to all. Many inconvenient, and to the public, senseless and irritating rules could be swept away, and the working of the Department would gain by the simplicity. The Postmaster-General, Cape Colony, in reviewing the results of some reforms, truly remarked in his annual report, that—"Simplicity and uniformity of tariff have even more effect on the growth of correspondence than cheapness itself."

ANGAREION.

ART. IV.—LIFE AND WORK OF GENERAL SIR ARTHUR COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I.—BY LADY HOPE.

THIS book, which gives a narrative of the life and work of one who was an enthusiastic advocate of irrigation and of navigable canals, comes appropriately at the present time. The value of irrigation has been brought into sharp relief by the shade cast by one of the most severe, most general, and most prolonged famines with which India has ever been afflicted.

As is natural, in a memoir of a father by his daughter, the work is not in any way a critical one. All that Sir Arthur Cotton did, or wished to do, is described as invariably right, while any opposition to his many schemes, is held to have always been unwise. It is perhaps just as well that this should be so, and that one side of the case should be fully stated.

At the same time it leaves room, and indeed calls for, an examination of some of those matters, or opinions, as to which Sir Arthur Cotton for many years occupied, to a certain extent, the position of a Don Quixote. And this, be it said, is meant in no depreciatory spirit.

The knight of La Mancha is always a gentleman, zealous and full of high endeavours, only wanting in the sense of proportion. Life would lose much, were there not some one, here and there, to lay a lance in rest, and to run a tilt at his adversary, without regard to the arguments or facts, which may appear, in the eyes of the more cautious on-lookers, to mar the cause which the knightly spirit has espoused.

The more strictly personal part of the memoir relating to Sir Arthur's boyhood, and to his home life after retirement, will be of interest chiefly to his friends and relations. What is of interest to the general reader is the description of the work which Sir Arthur Cotton carried out in Southern India, and the exposition of the views, which he so strongly held, regarding what should still be done throughout India generally.

It is stated in the preface that assistance has been given in the arrangement of the work by Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., and it would appear from the title page that some parts of it have been written by that gentleman. It is not, however, apparent in the text which are his contributions, and it may be taken that Lady Hope accepts all responsibility for the arguments used in support of her father's schemes, and for the criticisms, the opposition, or neglect with which some of those

re met. For the most part Sir Arthur Cotton and his ographer deal their opponents as sunk in the deepest error, ut do not attribute improper motives to them. In two assages, however, more severe attacks are made. In a prefatory chapter we find the following:—

"Sir Arthur Cotton's influence is ineffaceably stamped on "three portions of the eastern mart of the Madras Presidency. "What is true of this region might have been true, in a modified "measure, of many other parts of India, especially of some "of those provinces which now (July 1900) are the scenes "of awful suffering, had Sir Arthur Cotton's ripe experience "not been over-borne by administrative jealousy and by "official unacquaintance with what could really be done by "means of irrigation in almost every part of India."

Again, in the last chapter of the book the following occurs in a letter from Sir Arthur Cotton which is reproduced, and which relates to the vexed question of the comparative expenditure on railways and on works for irrigation:—

"I must tell you that it is now, I believe, a personal question "with the majority of the Civil Service. A lady said to my "wife,' I should think so indeed when the whole of our "property is invested in railways.'"

It is to be regretted that such allegations should have been allowed to appear in a work of this nature. It need hardly be said that they are mere allegations and are in no way supported by any facts.

The first great work done by Sir Arthur Cotton was the organization of the irrigation of the delta of the Cauveri d Coleroon in the Tanjore district. The chapter which deals with this part of his work might well have been fuller, the account of the work carried out might have been rer.

Lady Hope writes:—"(p. 59) In Tanjore and the adjoin- "ing district of Trichinopoly the indigenous works had proved "comparatively successful. They, however, only made use of "the river during the rains when the water was least wanted. "Our Engineer's conception and intention was to preserve the "flood waters for the dry season. He did it." Now of course he did nothing of the kind. What Sir Arthur Cotton did, was to restore the equilibrium of the two branches of the river by the construction of a weir across the Coleroon and to give effective control of the water in the two branches of the river. An ancient weir does not store water, or only to an infinitisimal degree. What it does is to control, and within certain limits, the level of the water in the stream, and to allow of the water being drawn off for canals or other channels as may be required.

The work done was in all respects excellent and was m successful.

Some years later Sir Arthur Cotton's great opportunity cam and was accepted, in the delta of the Godavari river. No prais can be too great for the work which he planned and carried out here. The anicut or weir across the Godavari was a much greater work of its class than had been yet attempted. The design adopted by Sir Arthur Cotton, though now accepted as sound, was at the time much criticised. He had rather to meet opposition than to recieve support from the financial authorities. Skilled labour was scarce, and officers with any experience in such work were equally scarce. The enthusiasm with which Sir Arthur Cotton could invest a project could not have been better applied and it was rewarded. The Godavari irrigation and navigation works are second to none in India whether we regard the economy with which they were made, their effectiveness as engineering works, or their remunerative character.

It is no doubt the fact that the physical and climatic conditions of river and delta were all in favour of the scheme, which the cheapness of the skilled labour, at that time, allowed of its being carried out at a comparatively low cost. Still this in no way diminishes the credit due to Sir Arthur Cotton for appreciating the conditions, and for the skill and energy with which he overcame all obstacles.

Sir Arthur Cotton wrote often and strongly as to what he deemed the short-sighted policy of the administrators of India in merely endeavouring to extract a larger revenue* fro the land while doing little or nothing to develop the country irrigation works or by improved means of communication. In so writing he was rendering undoubted service to India.

In a country which is so dependent on agriculture for revenue it is especially incumbent on the rulers of the State to do all that is possible to develop the latent capabilities of the soil. In England, we are so accustomed to such matters being dealt with by private enterprise, that we are apt to forget, that in India, the inititive must come from above.

It is only when we come to the particular works, or perhaps classes of works, which Sir Arthur Cotton advised or condemned, that there is room for differences of opinion.

It was perhaps only natural that he should have been affected by the great success of the irrigation works of the Cauveri, of the Godavari, and a little later, of the Kistna delta, and that he should have been imbued with the idea that works of this class were what India required in all parts.

* Even Sir Thomas Munro saw and wrote long before that irrigation improved the value of land.—ED. *C R.*

Lady Hope records that her father was accustomed to rank himself as a man of one idea. And while she rightly combats this limitation of his gifts, it is probably not incorrect to say that he was a one-sided man. That is, his nature was such, that when he espoused a cause he did it so completely as to make it difficult for him to see any flaws in it, or any merits in the opposition. So, when he became the advocate of works for irrigation and for navigation, and the opponent of railways, he was led into recommending schemes as to which he had not that accurate information, whether personal or acquired, which alone would have justified his assertions as to the necessity for them, or his predictions of the profits to be obtained from them.

The Kurnool Canal and the Orissa Canals are the most prominent instances of works undertaken on his recommendation and which have been financial failures. Lady Hope does not deal at any length with the share of responsibility which attaches to Sir Arthur Cotton in respect to these works, and this is not the place for re-opening a discussion which has been closed. In writing that these works have been financial failures regard has been had to the direct return to the State, which they yield. If we have regard also to the indirect value which they have to the community something may still be said in their favour.

This brings us to one point greatly urged by Sir Arthur Cotton, *viz.*, that the true value to the State, of irrigation and of the cheap transit afforded by navigable canals is much greater than that indicated by the direct returns. In other words, he urged, that such works should not be dealt with as if they were the property of a Company, depending solely on the direct returns for a dividend, but that the actual value to the State, that is to the community, should be regarded.

No doubt these particular instances are unfortunate because they had been recommended to, and adopted by a Company on the grounds that large direct returns were to be expected. The history of the Madras Irrigation Company, and of its off-shoot the Orissa Irrigation and Canals Company, is instructive in showing how vague and general statements were accepted without criticism, and how projects, requiring very large outlay, were entered into with no accurate estimates of what they would cost, and with hardly any idea of what the sale, or market value of the water really was.

However it is now certain that, in India, all large irrigation works will be consturcted at the cost of the State, and will be worked by its officers and in its interest. It is therefore very necessary to bear in mind that the value to the State of such works does not end with the sum at credit of the annual revenue account.

This view is represented clearly in an extract from the rep of the Famine Commission of 1879-80 quoted by Lady Ho in Chap. XI and which we may reproduce here:—

"It has been too much the custom, in discussions as to the "policy of constructing such works, to measure their value "by their financial success, considered only with reference to "the net return to Government on the capital invested in them. The true value of irrigation works is to be judged very differently. First, must be reckoned the direct protection afforded by them in years of drought, by the saving of human life, by the avoidance of loss of revenue remitted, and of the outlay incurred in costly measures of relief. But it is not only in years of drought that they are of value. In seasons of average rainfall they are of great service and a great source of wealth, giving certainty to all agricultural operations, increasing the outturn per acre of the crops, and enabling more valuable description of crops to be grown."

On the other hand we have the argument advanced by Lord Curzon in his speech during the budget debate in March 1900, and which has been reproduced by Lady Hope, that Protective Works, *i.e.*, works which do not pay (directly) the interest at which the State can borrow (3½ per cent.) on the capital, must be regarded as constituting a permanent financial burden on the State. What the true value to the State of irrigation works may be, is a question for political economists to answer; and before it can be answered, information is required on several points which it is difficult to obtain.

The first and most important point to determine is wha the value of the increased yield of the land due to irrigatio may be. This necessarily varies with climatic conditions as to rainfall and crops, with the nature of the soil, and even with the industry and ability of the cultivators. Still, for any particular case, it can, no doubt, be determined. The next point is to determine how much of this increase in the yield, or in the value of the crops grown, represents an increase in the assets of the State. And here we have to remember that we are dealing with a society having a very low standard of living. To a considerable extent the poorer members of the agricultural community merely earn a subsistence. When they have a good harvest they eat a little more: when they have a bad harvest they eat as little as they can exist on. To a certain extent, therefore, the increase in the yield due to irrigation is expended in giving better nourishment to the cultivators, and to this extent, can hardly be said to have any precise value as an asset of the State. Similarly, as regards clothing, when the cultivator has a good season, he and his family may have a few more garments than in bad times.

ough here, of course, the additional cotton cloth, or other rm of clothing used, must be paid for, and so the increase n yield is useful to the persons who make the cloth, and therefore to the State.

We may, perhaps, take as a concrete case the system of canals from the river Sone in Behar, which owe their existence, in some measure, to the influence of Sir Arthur Cotton and of the works which he constructed. The capital account of this system, as on 31st March 1900, stands at Rs. 2,67,52,578. The average net revenue for the last four years has been Rs. 5,14,777, representing a direct return of 2·29 per cent. in the capital. Consequently, regarded as a commercial investment, it is distinctly an unprofitable work.

We may, however, consider it from another point of view. For these four years, the average area irrigated has been 4,70,872 acres. Now, if we take the increased value to the State of the crops raised on this area at Rs. 5 per acre, which is a low estimate, the annual return to the State, that is to the community, was Rs. 18,83,488. The average annual charge for working expenses for the four years was Rs. 6,04,348. The average annual net gain to the community was, therefore, Rs. 12,79,140, which represents 4·78 per cent. in the capital. It is, therefore, arguable that the investment by the State in their works is remunerative, in the true sense of the term, though the direct returns, realized as water-rates, navigation, tolls, etc., aggregate less than 3½ per cent. Money is freely expended by the State on roads, without any direct return being acquired. There is, of course, the distinction that roads can be made anywhere and benefit the community in general, while irrigation works can only be made in certain places and benefit only certain portions of the community. The question is doubtless a difficult one, but it may fairly be said that the indirect value of irrigation works is great and should be investigated more than is usually done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was strenuous in advocating navigable canals as superior to railways, or at all events as more suitable to India, but here he seems to have had no grounds for the faith that was in him. In a few places, where conditions are specially favourable to canals, they may no doubt be the better means of affording cheap carriage, but as a general means of communication, they are, and must be, inferior to railways. A railway can be taken about anywhere, a canal can only be made, except at prohibitive cost, where the country is flat, or nearly so.

We have said that Sir Arthur Cotton's nature was such that he appeared to see only one side of a question, and this is illustrated by some of his answers to questions put to him

when he appeared before the Parliamentary Committees 1872 and 1878.

Lady Hope quotes the following from the proceedings of the Committee of 1872 (p. 212):—

"*The Chairman.*"—"In your opinion would canal navigation meet the whole transit wants of India, of its commerce and its people?"

"Perfectly and entirely" was the reply; 'without any one defect whatever.' Thinking this assertion might be thought too sweeping he qualified it with the remarks 'I do not mean to say that every line in India can be traversed by a canal, but every line in which it is of great importance. there should be transit. There may be minor tracts like some parts of the line between Bombay and Madras, which might be better for railways."

Now, even this qualified assertion is one which can hardly be taken seriously. Sir Arthur Cotton's experience of navigable canals had been confined to certain tracts where conditions were very favourable for such works, and he could not have had any sound data for assuming that similar results would be obtained under quite different surroundings.

When before the Committee of 1878, Sir Arthur Cotton was questioned as regards the failure, financially, of the Orissa canals and of the Kurnool canal. In replying, he attributed the failure entirely to bad management on the part of the Revenue officers. No doubt the management had been bad, but what is astonishing, is that Sir Arthur Cotton appeared to think it unnecessary to go at all into the question of the climatic and physical conditions, though of course it must be on these that the question really hinges.

In a memorandum on the delta of the river Mahanadi, submitted to Government by Sir Arthur Cotton in 1858, he wrote:—"There is not a single acre, in all India, or in the whole world, that would not be more productive, if it were irrigated at one time and drained at another." He would seem to have been so imbued with this exaggerated idea of the value of irrigation, anywhere and everywhere, that he could not see the real position.

In a letter to the Governor-General advocating the claims of the East India Irrigation Company, quoted by Lady Hope (p. 443), he wrote:—"We have every reason to hope that both the Irrigation Company's great projects in Madras and in Bengal, will be in extensive operation this year, and they both promise as great returns as those of the Godavari and Kistna."

There were in reality no grounds for expecting the same returns from the Irrigation Company's works (Orissa canals

Bengal and Kurnool canal in Madras), as from the Godari and Kistna works, where the conditions of soil and rainfall are very different, and it is not too much to say that Sir Arthur Cotton was absolutely reckless in his assertion.

Lady Hope has reproduced in Chapter X a speech by Lord George Hamilton made in the House of Commons in a debate connected with the famine in Southern India in 1876-77, in the course of which Sir Arthur Cotton's advocacy of irrigation and of navigable canals as a general remedy for all ills, is adversely criticised. Sir Arthur Cotton's rejoinder is given, but when examined, it is quite clear that the points raised by Lord George Hamilton were not really met. His Lordship said :— "Had Sir Arthur Cotton and his friends been content with advocating the construction of works, under as favourable circumstances as those he constructed in Madras, he would unquestionably have done unmitigated good in India."

This is much to the point, and it is certain, that in advocating other projects which were unsound, much harm was done to the cause which Sir Arthur Cotton had at heart.

At the same time it is to be borne in mind that Sir Arthur Cotton was an advocate, not a dictator. The real responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who accepted the schemes put forward without having given to them any proper scrutiny.

One of the schemes, with which Sir Arthur Cotton's name has been associated, was for a very large reservoir to be made in the upper course of the Tungabudra river. It is alluded to in the work under review, but only casually, and there is nothing to show what the true merits of the scheme may have been.

However, in urging generally, the necessity there is for storage of water, Sir A. Cotton was on sound ground. It is in this direction more than any other that work remains to be done in providing facilities for irrigation and in guarding against famine. At the same time it must be frankly acknowledged, that the question is a difficult one, and that progress can only be gradual. Reservoirs, of sufficient size to be of any real good, can only be made where the physical conditions are specially favourable. Again, there must be land suited for irrigation within a reasonable distance of the reservoir. Careful enquiries are necessary as to the supply of water available for filling the reservoir at periods of drought, as to the loss of water from percolation as well as from evaporation, and as to the areas, the crops in which can be secured with the available supply. The latter depending on the nature of the crops and of the soil, and on the distance the water has to travel to reach the fields. The sites suitable for large reservoirs will usually be in remote valleys, difficult of access,

and where labour is scarce or almost altogether wanting. St difficulties can be met and should be met.

This question of the storage of water for agricultural pur poses, appears to us to be of the first importance. We consider that the Government of India should be in a position to say what it is practicable to do in this way on every stream in the country. We would have every district taken in turn and every stream in it examined and scheduled as to possible sites for reservoirs, as to the supply which might be depended on at times of drought, as to position and area of land suited for irrigation, as to probable cost of works and financial prospects, and generally as to all matters pertinent to the question. We think that the Government should not be content with less than full knowledge. It would take time, much time, and it would take money to obtain such knowledge. A special staff would have to be employed and the work would require the closest scrutiny. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is one which is almost inherent to a Government by bureaus, we allude to the frequent changes in the heads of departments and in the governors, which render it so difficult to carry on any line of policy continuously.*

As we have said difficulties exist to be met, and if it is desirable to take a numerical census of the various peoples whom we govern, it is, surely, just as desirable to have a clear record of the possible means of improving their position We do not say that it is practicable to turn the whole of India into a garden; possibly it may not be practicable to do much; but it will surely be practicable to do something, and at all events, we ought to know definitely what can be done.

Sir Arthur Cotton was a man outstanding in his generation. He rendered great service to the State, and, though he might have done still more had his vast zeal and energy been combined with a nature less prone to rush to conclusions, he will always be remembered as one of the greatest of the pioneers of irrigation in India. We must never forget that he was a pioneer and that it was the very success of the works which he planned and carried out in the deltas of the Caveri and Godavari, which gave him an exaggerated idea of the returns, which similar works would be sure in other parts of the country, with the conditions of which he was imperfectly acquainted.

Lady Hope has done a public service in writing this memoir of her father. It is a book which all should read, who are interested in irrigation, or in the improvement of the agricultural community, though they should read with discern-

* Why should it be so ?—ED. *C.R.*

nt and remember that assertion is not proof. Sir Arthur otton's views were, no doubt, to a large extent Utopian, but or all that, in many ways, the general principles advocated are sound, and there is still much to be done where and when ways and means admit.

W. A. INGLIS.

[In order to give a complete view, we supplement the above excellent article with the following communication on the same subject,—which at present is drawing much attention,—with the well-known initials A. T. F.,—dated from London—in a leading Indian journal.*—ED. C.R.]

"The famine, recent writings of General F. Cotton on the value of water in India, Lady Hope's biography of the late Sir Arthur Cotton, and a renewed interest that has sprung up in British canals from the pressure of railway freights on agriculture, favour attention just now to the whole subject of Indian rivers, canals, and reservoirs. During Christmas week the *Times* had a lengthy notice of the Government Review of Irrigation for 1898-99, recounting how 21 Productive Works yielded 9¾ per cent. interest annually, on the capital expended, and 15 crores of rupees surplus. The gross revenue of all the Productive Works in India is put down at 317⅜ lakhs of rupees, or Rs. 3⅓ per acre irrigated. But great as this progress is, when we reflect that the net area of India cropped, is 196 millions of acres, with cultivable waste lands amounting to 106 millions of acres more, it is seen that the 18 millions of acres irrigated are a mere speck on that wide surface. The exact acreage liable to failure of rain, and therefore to famine, is still to learn, but must be a large fraction of the whole 300 millions of cultivable acres in British India. This huge extent of endangered territory was constantly present to the mind of Sir Arthur Cotton, who before quitting India for good in 1862, and subsequenty for close on thirty years, exhausted every argument derivable from past success in the Deltas on behalf of a more energetic policy with irrigation and water communications. Instead of this, what may be termed a safe line has been pursued ever since, works which had been begun have been left unfinished, and at best only a small percentage of the land has been irrigated. The reason of this seems to be a reluctance to depart from the old Indian system of doing Public Works as far as possible out of revenue. In India capital is not obtainable so cheap as at Home. Consequently, the guaranteed railways were projected there, and as a railway from its great cost per mile cannot possibly be constructed out of revenue,

* The *M. Mail.*

the railways had the advantage over water works. Any w spread extention of irrigation must, however, be originated the India Office on account of the large capital required, wh details of the operations have all to be studied and arrange in India itself.

"A very important point has been brought forward by General Cotton, *viz.*, that the entire outlay on irrigation—with its returns, according to the *Times* of 18 per cent. for the Godavery works and 41 per cent. under the Cauvery—is only the value of one year's crops on the land irrigated. A resolution on the part of the India Office to spend another year's crop values the *Times* sets down at 39 crores of rupees, in extending irrigation and preventing famine, so far from being extravagant would be sheer economy. Once it was adopted, new life would be thrown into Indian Public Works, causing investigation by map and on the ground of the circumstances of each separate tract of country, with a view to these being placed beyond the risk of famine by combined engineering and agricultural expedients of the most modern type. A further resolve to lay out some 5 millions sterling on completing waterways already commenced or projected, would round off the task before the Secretary of State in these vital matters, and by degrees everything practicable in the programme Sir Arthur Cotton sketched roughly out in the 19th, could be realised in the 20th century. There are difficulties of treatment he could not foresee in 1858, because the land now to be secured against famine is not delta soil, but situated in the uplands of the interior, and the difference even now in the nature of th measures required, is imperfectly understood. Protection the huge area visited by famine, cannot be got by servile repetition of delta applicable methods, and rates of expenditure. But at least one delta still remains to which they would fairly apply, that of the Mahanuddi, in Orissa. It may be remembered that after Lord Stanley guaranteed the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company's works at Kurnool in 1859, a similar concession was made to the Orissa Irrigation Company. In both cases the Companies were formed before the ground had been surveyed, and after a large outlay their enterprises had to be taken over by Government, a little under one million pounds sterling having been paid for the Orissa works. The site was visited by Sir A. Cotton on behalf of the Government of India in 1858, and from what he noted on the occasion it may be inferred that though there is a similarity to the Godavery delta in extent and in several respects, the local conditions make the scheme unsuited to Joint Stock enterprise, which must have dividends for shareholders, a year or two after irrigation has commenced. Why the Orissa works failed has never been

[illegible]pularly made known, but there is nothing very extraordinary [illegible]bout it. The Mahanuddi, though it runs a flood of 240 millions of cubic yards per hour against 200 millions of cubic yards in the Godavery, only does so for 12 hours in the season, [illegible]e the Godavery flood lasts ten days. In fact, the Mahanuddi [illegible] only one-fifth the Godavery's discharge, and a much more [illegible]egular supply is also implied by this. Then if the maps of their deltas are compared, it is seen that the Godavery flows to sea in two branches not far asunder, while the Mahanuddi divided into six mouths below Cuttack, like the ribs of a fan, cuts up the land, and must lead to embanking and drainage in an excessive degree. So that it would take much outlay, and years to get a return for which the State would alone be in a position to wait.

"As the delta grows rice, and that cereal fetches a gold price on export, there can be little or no ultimate risk in finishing the Orissa scheme. The works were, however, somewhat under-estimated in Sir Arthur Cotton's rough calculations of 1858. He took the Godavery improvement as having cost Rs. 4 per acre, and allowing Rs. 5 an acre for the Mahanuddi placed the cost of irrigation at 112 lakhs of rupees, with 18 lakhs more for 120 miles of high level canal towards Calcutta at Rs. 15,000 per mile: or 130 lakhs for the whole scheme. General Haig, on being deputed to America, found the Erie Canal had cost Rs. 55,000 per mile. All the estimates have still to be revised. The history of the works since their purchase by Government can be followed up to 1872 in Hunter's Orissa. They consist of 3 weirs, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long respectively, and 4 canals open for an aggregate length of about 130 miles of main channel, besides the usual distributaries. There was the same difficulty in getting the water taken by cultivators as under the Kurnool Canal. The Orissa Company began by charging 10 shillings an acre, which rendered it unsaleable. Though in 1868 this was reduced to 5 shillings an acre, there were only 1,842 acres irrigated and £175 water-rate collected that year. In 1871 Government reduced the price to 2 shillings an acre, and at once a lakh of acres was irrigated, which Hunter remarks:—"As producing 750,000 cwts. of rice was enough to take the extreme edge off a famine." Only one out of the 4 canals was really finished in 1870, the Kendrapara, 42 miles long, commanding 95,000 acres, yet it earned 8 per cent. on its own net cost. When the Company's Engineers came to plan and survey they found the delta peculiarly subject to inundation both from the river and cyclone waves from the Bay of Bengal, there are 680 miles of embankment to maintain, and they had 35 streams or distributaries, to regulate, by expensive

constructions. Add to which, that rice cultivation, needs mu native capital to start it, and the population was impoverish at the time. Indeed, the embankment system had "failed s egregiously that some of the District officers despair of an system of embankments being successful." The high canal is to be 230 miles long and some irrigation (half a mi acres) under it, but there is a gap of 142 miles in the midd between Cuttack and Calcutta.

"At the period of Sir Arthur Cotton's Report on Orissa in 1858 the idea prevailed of combining irrigation with navigation in the same canal. Experience in other Districts than the Godavery led to its abandonment a few years afterwards for reasons easy to assign, but principally the strong current, the silting, and want generally of enough water for the two purposes. In the formation of this opinion the late Colonel J. C. Anderson, and to some extent Colonel Orr, had a leading share. One consequence of the combining of irrigation with navigation has been delay in planning a comprehensive system of Indian irrigation suited to all differing parts of the country. There are such complex points to be studied that the task has scarcely been begun, for, as has been remarked before, only 18 millions of acres out of 300 millions are as yet irrigated. It is impracticable therefore at this stage to go into any of the minutiæ of irrigation, though it calls for much the largest expenditure. As for canals of navigation it is easier, there being so many familiar examples. In a lecture at Chatham in 1875 Sir A. Cotton gave his full programme of water communications for India as follows:—1st, Bombay, by Ahmedabad, and up the valley of the Indus, across by the Sirhind Canal to the Ganges Canal, down the valley of the Ganges to Calcutta, along the East Coast to Cape Comorin and up the West Coast to Karwar, near Goa. Between Goa and Bombay the country is impracticable for a canal. 2nd. Across the Peninsula by the valleys of the Godavery, Wardah, and Tapti to meet the first line at Baroda. 3rd. A second line across the Peninsula, from Nellore by the valleys o the Pennar, Tungabhadra, and Kala-Nadi to Karwar. 4th. Madras across the Carnatic, and by the valleys of the Ambravati and Palghat river to Ponani. The whole being about 7,000 miles by canal and river. Now anyone who knows the topography of India is aware that though it is an impossible feat to quite cross the southern Peninsula over the higher ghauts for want of a supply of water at the summit levels, the greater part of this programme is feasible in an engineering sense, and portions have been carried out. But the work cannot be done for Rs. 15,000 per mile, or anything like that sum, an important matter when a comparison is made between

ter-ways and rail-roads. The world-wide experience, how-er, is that freights by river and canal are lower than the ailway, and that they convey bulky produce the railways could not accommodate.

"There is a navigation scheme, part of item 3rd in the programme, that has been in abeyance after a large sum spent upon it, that is well worth resuscitating. Opening the Upper Godavery to navigation would have connected the Central Provinces with the sea by 450 miles of improved river communication, bringing down coal to market, and sending up grain produced under the delta works on occasions of threatened famine. After employing General Haig and a small Madras Staff for some years, the Government of India handed back the Godavery navigation to the Madras Government and the outlay with that on the Kurnool Canal and Orissa irrigation still forms a portion of the Indian debt. It has been asserted that dread of competition with the railways westward, led to stoppage of the Upper Godavery improvements, but it is much more reasonable to suppose it due to Government, seeing that such a large undertaking could not be gone on with out of current revenues. The particulars of the Godavery navigation are not very accessible, and have been almost forgotten in official circles. As given in General Haig's Report of 1856—when, curiously enough, General F. Cotton was his immediate chief—it appears that from Hingenghat by river and canal to Cocanada is 463 miles, while by railway it is 560 miles to Bombay. The fall of the Godavery from Chandah to Dowlaishweram is 490 feet in 357 miles (or 1 foot 4 inches per mile), and except for three barriers of rocks and rapids, boats can now go 450 miles by river in from 3 to 6 feet of water from July to December, the current varying from 5 to 8 miles an hour. In order to open the navigation for steam boats, 36 miles of diversion canal are required at the top, or Dewalmurri barrier, to surmount a fall of 175 feet. At the Echampilli barrier midway, the fall is only 36 feet, and as the banks are too steep for a side canal, there must be a lock gate and dam, while the river bed must have a channel 6 miles long cleared of rocks by dynamite. The lower barrier at intervals must have 12 miles of lateral canal with locks. Of course, a current of 8 miles an hour is no light matter, and would require a specially-constructed vessel to stem it. In fact, the whole remodelled design of the works will have to be based on the kind of steamer that is to be employed. Then in these days electric traction is used on canals, and with the immense amount of water power on the Godavery this could supersede the use of steam. General Haig's Report also shows that if the monthly deficiency averag-

ing 14 millions of cubic yards, be made good by storing 5,7 millions of cubic yards of water in reservoirs, to keep up t flow, steamers can ply up to the 20th May, or there would b navigation open for 7 months of the year.

"Such is the description of two important schemes, one of irrigation on Orissa and the other for navigating the Godavery, that energetic policy of spending another year's crop values and finishing works already begun would rapidly mature. The Kurnool Canal seems capable of being extended into Hyderabad territory to the north, and through Nellore to the Buckingham Canal on the sea coasts. There are many of Sir Arthur Cotton's canals that might be made and worked in supplement of the railways. How far 39 crores of rupees will secure an area, ten times that of the existing irrigation from all danger of famine, depends upon the way engineering intelligence and the latest agricultural science are brought to bear on the problem in combination. By separating as a rule irrigation from navigation, the water can be made to go ever so much further than at present, and in any case the effect of a liberal expenditure in diverting what goes to waste cannot fail to be profound. A less effort would merely leave the arable land in district after district a prey to drought and scarcity."*

London, 31st January.

A. T. F.

* Lord George Hamilton has promised to lay a Blue Book on the whole subject on the table of the House.—ED. *C. R.*

ART. V.—DARJEELING.

THE Fates will never give perfect rest to the globe-trotter. A fortnight at a place and he has had enough of it; he longs for fresh fields and pastures new. Not content with doing India literally from the wave plashed Comorin to Pathanic Peshawar, and from Bengal's Bay to the Gulf of Cutch, he must do it over again if possible, and visit little nooks and corners left out here and there. Darjeeling had always baffled my endeavours; somehow or other, whenever a trip to this favorite sanitarium, almost at the door of Calcutta, was arranged, some unforeseen circumstances would make me give up the idea, and send me contemplating the majestic marble of the Taj, or hearing youthful monks recite the Dhammapada in the Budhistic monasteries of Ceylon. It was not that I had not seen the stately pine, or the gorgeous rhododendron, that I would long so intently for a breath of Himalayan air. I had seen Simla at various seasons of the year, I had seen the *chowra maidan* crowded, and cruel boys "netting" the butterfly. I had also seen Snowdon and Peterhoff deserted, and Barnes Court given up to the bloody* chuprassie. But Simla with its art and its fashion had disappointed me. You may now and again have the satisfaction of elbowing the *Burra Lat* on your walk round Jakko or in front of the "yarrows," you may even catch the Countess of Honolulu flirting with the A.-D.-C. in uniform under the protecting umbrage of the sturdy oak, and if you have sharp ears you may also hear the Viceroy discussing the best means to "bag" the Amir, with urbane Sir Mortimer. But all this do not satisfy the man whose object is to see nature in her sublime nudity. In Simla you stumble on art at every step, and the snowy regions, why they are almost as much a forbidden portrait to you as to the man at Mangalore. I have tried Abu, the summer residence of the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana. But its only attraction is the temple at Dilwara. I have been to Mercara too, through forests of cardamum where the elephant is wild. But save for the sentiment that attaches to it as being the last capital of an ancient line of Hindu kings, there is scarcely anything in its small hills to attract the attention of a person whom little things have never been able to satisfy. If of all these Indian hill stations any place is more enjoyable than the rest it is Ooty of the Southerns. Here plus all the luxuries of a hill station, you may also drive about.

* If this is meant to be a "swear-word," it is inadmissible.—ED. *C. R.*

Disappointed, therefore, with all these summer resor and hearing flattering accounts of Darjeeling, I made u my mind in September 18—to go there at any risk. An this time I was determined to overcome all obstacles. A relation taking a house there for the season, nothing remained to be done but to huddle up my clothing in two P. and O. trunks, and to strap up the bedding as best as a bachelor can do. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would prosecute me if I dared to inflict on the reader an account of the progress of the Darjeeling Mail from Sealdah to Siliguri—for there is scarcely anything in it that is not already known to him, or that my pen and ink can materially improve. The train rolled on through verdant fields interspersed with vast sheets of water that the rains had brought. There was some confusion when, at about 9 in the evening, the banks of the boisterous *Padma* were reached. Half-naked porters running all about the place, quarrelling among themselves for your custom, and altogether making such a row, that one feels tempted to break the law in order to preserve peace and order*. Our perturbed spirits found repose, however, when we sat to a goodly dinner served on board the ferry steamer. The next morning at about 8 we changed into the Liliputian Himalayan carriages at Siliguri. They are so light and small and so toy-like to look at, that you almost feel you are in Liliput. Here you have to consign your gladstone, bedding and other small things that you have been carrying with you, to the tender mercies of the Railway guard who strews them pell mell in the brake-van, and gives you no reciept. But you get them all right at your destination, if some, have not been left behind.

The carriages are very much like the cars of the Calcutta Tramways Company, and if you do not take extra precaution your peg tumbler or Mrs. Rochefort's baby may roll down when the train suddenly takes a turn or runs down a decline. The road from Siliguri to the next station Sookna is perfectly plainish, and does not at all give you the idea of a mountain climb. You can only see the lofty Himalayas stretching before your eyes, almost in a semi-circle, and sometimes hid behind black clouds. The excitement begins when you leave Sookna, with its solitary station and moribund stationmaster behind. You are ushered into the damp and shady regions of the Terai where you see the vegetation of the tropics making a bold stand against the inroads of the temperate fir and oak. You climb up and up at, by no means, a gentle gradient, and as you proceed, the contest between the zones grows less

* Did you "swear" at them ?—ED. *C. R.*

less, till by the time you have steamed along yawning precipices and looked down 500 feet, you have left the vegetation of the hated plains behind you. As you go along you see a high hill in front of you that almost threatens to obstruct your passage, but thanks to science, you make a sudden curve, the engine and the brake-van represent the two ends of the cord of a circle, and slowly but surely you go on making several rounds of your foe, gaining each time in altitude, till you have ridden on his very top and have commenced the round of another. There! a lady has screamed, all heads look out—it is a bottomless abyss that the foolhardy driver is nearing. We are on the very brink of it—"the smelling bottle John" exclaims an elderly lady from the next compartment,—an inch more, and eternity swallows us, train, engine, driver, proud science and all. Thank heaven, we have passed it. It has only cost us a shriek, probably a swoon, and some drops of "Auld Scottie."

Thus between breathless excitement and terror, and speechless admiration for the panorama of exquisite beauty that our enraptured eyes behold, we crawl along, the poor engine panting and sobbing at times when unable to drag up its heavy load. From Kurseong we might have had the first peep at the far-famed Kanchinjunga had the weather permitted the pleasure. As it was, we had to content ourselves with turning our nose at the dirty bazar with its crowd of beggar boys, and with eating some good English beef at Clarendon Hotel where the kind and considerate Railway Company give you about half an hour's time to satisfy your inner man. Kurseong is the sanitarium for those that can not bear the majesty of Darjeeling.

We ought to have donned warm clothing at Kurseong, but want of foresight that is so characteristic of some travellers, had already settled the matter. They were all locked in the gladstone which was stowed in the brake. When at dusk the train whizzed into the grim looking station at Ghoom, the highest point on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway, I was shivering in my khaki suit. Shaking off my laziness, I fished out my ulster from under the seat and slipping my tired limbs into it, got down on the platform for a stroll. There was the "Ghoom witch" photographed by Johnston and Hoffman, looking the very descendant of the Atalanta in her loose and flowing garb. She reminds one of the witches in Macbeth.

At Ghoom those bound for Jalapahar got down amidst a scene of greater confusion than what one sees in Damukdia Ghât Station. By the time we left Ghoom the shades of evening had fallen over us and clothed the mountains with the robe

of darkness that adds to their sternness, and inspires awe in the on-looker. The Railway station of Darjeeling is a decent little house built of hard granite which is always lively in the mornings and evenings, when trains leave and come. Indeed, it is quite an institution in Darjeeling. You look in whenever you happen to be passing that way, and if perchance it is train time, you see pretty faces and rosy cheeks with the bloom of the mountains on them which you can never hope to see on the plains.

At Darjeeling I gave myself up entirely to the mild dissipation of doing nothing. Teas, dinners, and parties take up one's time, and what little is left is divided between riding, sauntering, and sitting on a solitary bench by a cataract or a waterfall watching the foamy white waters bubble and babble, or the thick black mist gather on mountain and tree tops and around you. Or if you are disposed to be gay, you may stick to the Mall where you may see the fountain play, the band discourse music, and lovers enjoying the rhapsody of a tête a tête in some unprominent corner. You see riders cantering and galloping in all directions, and a suffocating crowd at Lord's where the fashion and beauty of the town resort in the afternoons to borrow a book or buy a box of chocolate almonds. Lord will give you everything, from Barcelona nuts to Bombay ducks. He keeps also a well-patronised Bar which is very decently furnished, and where Lord Montcennis or Sir Honeycomb Dunkirk takes his daily sip of the health-giving juice of the grape. You may make the round of Observatory Hill and climb its top to see the grotto, or you may venture out to the cantonment, on Jalapahar, where you see Tommy in parade or attending a Salvationist Meeting. The Botanical Gardens down below in the khuds are favored by many, specially by the Babu, who, it must be remarked, seldom shows himself above the cart road. Here, however, he considers himself to be somewhat in his element, and has been known to immodestly stare on ladies, and to thrust his unwelcome presence, with his bare calves and transparent underclothing, on their company. The Birch Hill is another favorite rendezvous of those on the look out for partial solitude. And under its small canopy picnics are held almost half-a-dozen times a day—one party going out and another coming in. One fine October afternoon we surprised a party of rowdy Chinese Mandarins who had given up opium for the bottle, and were quaffing bottle after bottle of good old dew of Ben Nevis. They were altogether a boisterous lot, drinking, eating, howling, singing, and spitting at the same time. But by far the best attraction of Darjeeling is the market which is held every Sunday morning. It is the neatest and the most orderly market I have ever seen. There is no dirt or filth about

nd you scarcely feel that you are in an Indian Bazar with its ols of dirty water, its putrid fish, and its rotten vegetables. In large quadrangle of the bazar you find heaps of potatoes, tel leaves, onions, gingers, and generally such other vegetables as have been imported in large quantities. Leaving this behind, and, on your way to the large hall with corrugated iron roofing where meat is sold, you pass by groups of Lepcha and Bhutia girls who sell small quantities of tomatoes, cayenne pepper, radishes, Bhutia bread, beads, and other things of local growth and manufacture. Marketing with these girls is quite a luxury, and to chatter with them is about as pleasant a pastime as trotting up to Jore Bungalow. They are very fair, but the Bhutia is chubbnosed. It is only the Lepcha girl that can lay any pretensions to real beauty. They are married when they pass their teens and are quite a healthy and buxom lot. We were not a little amused to see a Bhutia matron refuse us a penn'orth of Bhutia bread. She said we could do nothing with it, and kindly advised us not to threw a pice away.

The Lepchas are a fine people, truthful and honest, but it is said, they cannot bear civilisation which is gradually driving them into the interior, and may finally make the race extinct. They are nomadic in their habits, and are ignorant of the use of the plough. Indeed, they have no word in their language for a plough. They settle down temporarily at a place, find out a fertile plot of ground, of which the surface is scraped with a rude sort of knife. This is all the cultivation that their idleness will permit them. For three or four years the land continues to yield, but when superficial scraping is found inadequate for their purposes, they remove to another place, and begin fresh scraping of virgin soil. The Bhutias, however, are far better husbandmen, but they are a cowardly lot, although they are strong and stalwart. Women are held in very high respect among both of these classes. They are very merry people, singing a ditty or cracking a joke amidst their daily drudge. There is a boarding school in Darjeeling for the education of Bhutias, Lepchas and other Caucaso-Mongolian races inhabiting the country. The school, however, goes by the name of Bhutia Boarding School, and is under the management of an officer of the Education Department. Its scholars, if they are proficient in anything, are little Barretts and Irvings. We were not a little amused to see them figure in a *tableau vivant*. They showed us the manner of saluting of different nations—the mosaic handshake, the insulting twist of the ear, the demeaning touch of the feet, the queer pull of the nose, the poetic kiss of the hand, and the sublime kiss of the cheeks—they showed us all these practices.

Kanchinjunga is truly a magnificent sight. There is hardly

anything to be compared to it. On it, during the twelve hou of the day, you see almost everywhere in the rainbow reflecte Early in the morning aurora blushes on it, but as the su mounts the chariot of day, Kanchinjunga is no longer the blus ing maiden ; she has cast off her coyishness, her veil has been snatched from her, and she shines now in all the radiance of her beauty. She is bright as silver. As day begins to decline, she turns yellow and crimson, till by the time the sun is sloping down the West, she wears the gorgeous garb of gold. I shall have more to say of Kanchinjunga in my account of Phalalum.*

Darjeeling strikes you as of all places the only one where the Bengali lady, who is proverbially a gem that cannot be seen even by the all-seeing sun, romps about the town fearlessly, and gives herself up entirely to the calls of society and to the amenities of civilised life. She may be seen picnicing up on Birch Hill, or galloping towards Senchal, or nymph-like playing on the violin in the drawing room at Craigmount.

RUSTUM PACHA.

* We hope soon to receive it.—ED., *C. R.*

ART. VI.—EXPERIMENTAL FARMS FOR THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

IT is now pretty generally admitted that in several administrative and other directions, and because of the manner, more statesman-like than bureaucratic, in which it approaches the consideration and solution of great problems vitally concerning the people, the Madras Presidency is not deserving of the title of "Benighted" which its unfriends and those not conversant with its affairs are in the habit of applying to it. Perhaps, there is no direction in which the Madras Government, notwithstanding resistance of one kind or another from both without and within, has endeavoured so much to further the welfare of the twenty-two millions (representing over 62 per cent. of the population) dependent either wholly or in part for their livelihood on the possession of land or on its cultivation, as in that of improving the system and methods of agriculture now obtaining and of helping to make, to use a hackneyed phrase, two blades of grass grow where only one blade grew before. Agricultural reform and the improvement of the material condition of the agricultural classes is constantly engaging the serious attention of the Madras Government, and even after admitting that it is true that more improvement is carried out on paper than in practice, *par example*, the elaborate, learned and highly instructive Report on Agricultural Banks drawn up by the Hon'ble Mr. F. A. Nicholson six years ago, and which is only now beginning to bear fruit on a very small scale, it is not incorrect to assert that within the last three or four administrations, something attempted has been followed by something done. If schemes for the betterment of the people's condition are not worked out as expeditiously as desirable or necessary, it is because in Southern India, just as all over the rest of the peninsula, the machinery of administration is cumbrous and moves with difficulty, as also because, unlike in European and American countries from where we have to obtain our ideas and our models to a considerable extent, we have here no section of the community to which the State may turn for the strengthening of its hands* whenever it is called upon to deal with difficult and complex problems that are rendered still more difficult and perplexing for the reason that in attempting their solution we have to keep constantly in view the effects which they are likely to produce on indigenous insti-

* This machinery may easily be created from among the leading landlords by a wise and helpful ruler.—ED. *C. R.*

tutions. In proof of the earnestness which Madras has shown to solve its great and anxious agricultural problem we have only to point to the grand irrigation projects which have been established in the deltaic tracts of Kistna and Godavari and to the gigantic Periyar project, which, by diverting the waters of a Travancore stream into the British Indian stream of Madura, has brought over 100,000 acres of land under irrigation and thereby increased to that extent the profitably cultivable area of the presidency. But we are not blind, and, out and out admirers of the Madras Government, and we have no hesitation in admitting that it has now and then wasted its energies and its far from inexhaustible resources on visionary schemes and has pursued them long after their impracticability has become patent to the most casual observer. As a glaring instance of this particular description of Myopia on the part of an otherwise clear-sighted Government, we have what is euphemistically styled the Madras College of Agriculture, the object of which institution is supposed to be to afford instruction in the Science of Agriculture and in the practical application of sound principles in conducting the ordinary agriculture of the country. The College has been in existence for over a decade, but everyone who is in a position to express an opinion is agreed that it has always remained a white elephant. It prepares students in such highly technical subjects as agriculture, botany, physiography, organic and inorganic chemistry, surveying and levelling, and agricultural engineering, and it is generally attended by students who have undergone no preliminary training such as would admit of their being able to assimilate the heavy food which is crammed down their throats in the College. The results of the examinations have been observed to be steadily declining during the last five years, and the authorities of the institution would be at a loss to point to students who have turned the knowledge imparted to them to real use in the improvement of agriculture or any other allied branch of activity. But we may for the present, pass over these matters and come without further preamble to a plain and unvarnished statement of one very decisive step which the Madras Government has just taken on the road to agricultural reform, actual and practical. Attached to the Madras College of Agriculture there is an experimental farm where some very useful work is surely being carried out, but where at the same time much that is being done, although it is intrinsically valuable, does not conduce one whit to the improvement of the agricultural classes. It is superfluous to state that the essential object of a farm of this nature is to benefit the classes who depend on agriculture for a livelihood.

is, however, by the way. To the Saidapet farm, which is the e we allude to, it has now been resolved by the Madras overnment to add two other farms, and it has been decided to ocate one of these near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti, in the Tinnevelly district.

The process of incubation which has attained almost complete development in the above resolution may be said to date back from 1898. In that year His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, then Governor of Madras, visited the district of Madura and received from the inhabitants an address, in the course of which it was stated :—

"The Government has recognised the importance of agricultural model farms. This district has already taken the lead in starting a model farm though on a small scale, with the help of endowments now under the management of the District Board. We request the Government to take up the management of this institution and widen the scope of its usefulness by allotting more lands to it for purposes of experiment and demonstration."

The above request was not long in being acceded to, for on the 13th of August 1898, the Madras Government issued an order in which it stated that the Board of Revenue had been requested to deal with the request when the establishment of Government Farms in suitable localities came up for consideration in connection with the resolutions of the Government of India. The resolutions of the Government of India here referred to divided the work of agricultural research into two sections, namely, a general and superficial investigation of agricultural defects, and a definite and systematic programme of experiments. The desire was also expressed that as regards the former it should be concentrated from time to time upon some single prominent agricultural defect, and it was suggested that the question of the waste of liquid manure might first be taken up for investigation.

An interesting memorandum dealing with the resolutions of the Government of India, was drawn up in the beginning of 1899 by Mr. C. Benson, M.R.A.C., Deputy Director of Land Records and Agriculture, Madras Presidency. Mr. Benson thought that the chief matter which demanded attention in his Presidency was the organisation of the broader investigation alluded to by the Government of India, and for this purpose he held that the establishment of experimental farms was necessary, while for their management and supervision the employment of a trained staff was required. Now, while in other provinces the starting of a central farm at which to commence investigation might be the present necessity, it was not so in Madras, where the Saidapet institution

was already in existence as a central farm, and it only remained to take a further step and render investigation and experiment thoroughly effective by organising such a number of experimental farms as would embrace the varying conditions of the country. Viewing the question comprehensively, Mr. Benson thought that so far as the black-cotton soils of Madras are concerned, probably farms in (1) Coimbatore or Tinnevelly, (2) Bellary or Kurnool, and (3) Kistna may suffice. Other farms would be required to deal with the grouping of soils usually called the red soils, and possibly farms in (4) Madura or Trichinopoly, (5) Coimbatore or Salem, (6) Anantapur or Cuddapah, (7) South Arcot, Chingleput or Nellore, and (8) Godavari, Vizagapatam or Ganjam, would fairly cover the ground. That would be eight farms in all though, as a matter of practical working, the number could only be gradually arrived at. Then, for the investigation of special questions, such as irrigation, Mr. Benson thought that other farms would be ultimately needed. As regards the sizes of these farms, he clings in his memorandum to the opinion he has expressed for some years past that the experimental areas need not be more than 10 acres each, and that as the institutions are to be primarily experimental, three yoke of oxen should be provided for, and if the farm be started close to a town where milk could be sold, it would be advisable to run a dairy, and in any case keep a good breeding bull for the benefit of those choosing to serve their cows with him.

In the management of any experimental station, there are some first principles to be observed, and they are described in Dr. Voelcker's book on Indian Agriculture. The portion specially assigned for continuous experiment must be laid out into conveniently shaped and useful sized plots and be durably demarcated, 0·10 acre plots being the most convenient for manuring experiments and the like. Between each, a strip of land should be kept undisturbed. Besides, as experiments once begun would develop with time, space for expansion should be provided. The land required for experiment having been laid out into suitable plots, the next thing is to grow one or two crops over the whole area, treating the land in the same way throughout, and the crops also, and then recording carefully the yields of each plot or block. This process is known as "equalization" for future experiment. When the second year's record is complete, definite experiments may be fully started.

Mr. Benson next dealt in his paper with problems to which attention should be primarily directed. The greatest and most intractable agricultural defect of the country is drought, and the evidence available as to the evil effects of shallow tillage

enhancing the effects of drought and of the good effects of orough and deep tillage is incontrovertible, as far as this ountry is concerned, though the recently published reports of experiments conducted in North America show the contrary to be the case there. Mr. Benson thinks that we should, with European or other ploughs, see if we cannot obtain as cheap as possible a sufficiently deep and good tilth, for which purpose strict attention should be paid to the feeding of tilling cattle whose manure could be collected by the box system, the byre system and the ordinary local system, and used for manuring experiments. He then goes on to deal with the question of the establishments required for the management of his proposed farms, the cost of land, fitting up, maintenance of live stock, etc., but as we shall have to deal later on with these questions as they have been decided by the Madras Government, it is not necessary to follow Mr. Benson in detail any further.

Taking up the whole question in February 1899, the Madras Board of Revenue submitted to the Madras Government an interesting report upon the form which, in its opinion, the constitution of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture should, in the future, assume and the duties which should be performed by it. The Government of India had stated the duties of the Agricultural Branch of the department to be somewhat as follows :—

(1) The collection and arrangement of facts and statistics bearing on all branches of economics and agriculture ;

(2) the investigation of agricultural defects brought to light by an examination of the land records and the devising of remedies therefor ; and

(3) the investigation of local agricultural practices and the conduct of experiments on problems suggested thereby.

The greater part of the work included in the first head is now done in the office of the Madras Board of Revenue, and the supervision of most of it, especially matters relating to the state of the country—rainfall, prices, cultivation and traffic by land—has been in an informal way assigned to the Deputy Director, who also in times of scarcity and distress has performed the duties of Famine Secretary to the Board. For the proper carrying on of the statistical work, and for bringing to notice and investigating facts which may be gleaned from a study of the statistics, the Board considered that the services of one officer might, with advantage, be employed, this officer to be the Deputy Director of Agriculture, separating the post from that of Deputy Director of Land Records, while at the same time not reviving the latter appointment. It would then

be the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, subject to the control of the Board, to collect, arrange and publish all statistics bearing on agriculture, including rainfall, cultivation, special crops, prices and wages, irrigation, and trade by land, as well as to prepare therefrom and from the statistics of the sea-borne trade, compiled and issued by the Department of Separate Revenue, reviews and reports in elucidation of economic facts bearing on the condition of the country. This arrangement would in short give the Madras Presidency a Statistical Reporter.

As regards the second item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Madras Board of Revenue held in its Resolution that the investigation must be chiefly carried out by the Land Revenue staff and by the Land Record staff when appointed, though it would be part of the duty of the Deputy Director of Agriculture to ledger observations in regard to, and, if possible, to suggest a remedy for any serious agricultural deterioration which may be reported by the District Offices. We may have something to say with regard to the views of the Madras Board of Revenue regarding its responsibilities in this particular direction of investigating and devising remedies for agricultural defects, but for the present we have to refrain from criticism as it would be somewhat foreign to the especial matter we are dealing with. Coming then to the third item of the duties of the Agricultural Department, the Board dealt in its Resolution with the question under the following heads :—

(*i*) The scope and course of enquiry which should be followed ;

(*ii*) the number of experimental farms which will be needed now and in the future, and the programme to be adopted thereat ;

(*iii*) the character of the staff to which these inquiries and farms should be entrusted ;

(*iv*) the establishments (including European and Native assistants and inspectors) to be worked up to, and the cost of such establishments in the near and distant future.

Regarding the first point, the Board considered that a distinction was necessary between a general investigation of prominent agricultural defects which may and should be made throughout the country, and the more minute investigations which are the function of an experimental farm, in the former case, attention being from time to time concentrated upon one prominent defect ; in the latter, the working plan including the simultaneous trial of as many experiments as the Director guided by his advisers and by the

nperial expert, might determine to be eventually required; xperiments being set on foot on the experimental farms for ome years before the general investigation may be taken up.

Presuming that this view would be acceptable to the Madras Government, the Board of Revenue went on to recommend, in its resolution, that, as a scheme to be ultimately worked up to, eight experimental farms should be established—four in the northern and four in the southern half of the Presidency—each farm to be about fifty acres in area, and in connection with each a school or class to be established by the Educational Department. The Board also entered fully into the question of starting and stocking these farms, cost of establishment, initial and recurring charges incidental to the scheme, etc.; but there is no need to enter fully into all these details, as the order of the Madras Government, which we shall presently refer to, put the whole matter into a nutshell.

The Madras Government on receipt of the report if the Board of Revenue, thought that the question of the organisation of the Agricultural Branch of the Department of Land Records being of great importance, the views of the Full Board of Revenue on the subject was desirable and called for them. The Full Board approved unreservedly of the resolution submitted for its consideration, and on the 14th of December 1900 the Madras Government passed its final orders on this most interesting and important matter.

The Government considers, in this Order, that for the present as an experiment two farms, one in the northern and the other in the southern half of the Presidency, may be started on the lines suggested by Mr. Benson and under his immediate supervision. These two farms are to be opened as early as possible during the next financial year, one to be near Bellary and the other near Koilpatti in the Tinnevelli district. The items of expenditure for each farm are thus approximately estimated :—

	Rs.
Cost of land	2,000
Quarters	1,000
Shedding	700
Fencing	1,000
Stock	700
Implements	300
Fodder shed and sundries	500
Labour	600
Well	1,000
Sundries	200
Total Rs.	8,000

The Government has made a provision of Rs. 25,000 i Agricultural Farms in the ensuing year's budget estimate, an has ordered that early steps may therefore be taken to selec the sites and to make preparations for acquiring the necessary land, although no expenditure should be actually incurred till the next financial year.

The Bellary district in which one of these experimental farms is to be located is one of the most arid regions in the southern Presidency, its general aspect being a plain, devoid of trees, and broken at rare intervals by granite masses rising abruptly from the surrounding level of black-cotton soil. About one-nineteenth of the total area is barren land, including village and temple sites, tanks, and burning grounds and other unprofitable sites. The chief crops grown are *cholum* and *korra*, which constitute the food supply of the masses. In the artificially irrigated lands, rice and sugarcane are raised, and in gardens cocoanut, wheat, tobacco and other produce. Cotton is grown in dry lands, the *regar* or black cotton soil being always preferred. The forests of the district are poor and bare, though in the Sandur Native State, which lies within the district, they have a good vegetation, both on the slopes and on the summit of the plateau. The district has a very deficient rainfall, due obviously in a great measure to the absence of vegetation* which is required to preserve the humidity of the atmosphere and insure a sufficient rainfall. Drought and famine are therefore experienced from time to time, and it is on record that in 1853 no more than six inches of rain having fallen, a famine devastated the district. Such being the physical and meteorological features of the district, it will be deeply interesting to follow the career of the proposed experimental farm, which, if worked as such an officer as Mr. Benson will assuredly work it, will furnish us with proof of what man is in a position to do in the way of increasing the fertility of a region to which Nature, for reasons inscrutable, has been niggardly of some of her most precious gifts.

The District of Tinnevelly, in which the other experimental farm is to be situated, is, broadly speaking, a large plain, with an average elevation of 200 feet, sloping to the east, in the direction of the thirty-four rivers which run their course within the district. In the north, the soil is nearly all of the black cotton variety, while to the south, red sandy soil prevails, admitting of the growth of little else than the palmyra palm. The banks of the rivers are fertile, and admit of the profitable cultivation of rice and a variety of other crops. There are numerous salt marshes along the coast, and they

* Cannot planting trees and forests be fostered here by a system of rewards.—ED. *C. R.*

divided by sand dunes from the sea. The district has a est area of 1,500 square miles, all told, some of the tracts ntaining magnificent and commercially valuable vegetation. innevelly is on the whole a fertile district, rice and other cereals growing almost luxuriantly in the productive river valleys, cotton being largely produced in the drier parts, while the palmyra flourishes in the almost rainless tracts of red sandy soil to the south. It will be seen that the location of an experimental farm in this district also amounts to an interesting experiment, the outcome of which will be watched very carefully by all those who concern themselves with the important question of the improvemet of Indian Agriculture.

"CASUAL."

ART. VII.—COLONIAL POLICIES: ASSIMILATION AND AUTONOMY.

THE above title is suggested by the article entitled *French Administration in Algiers,* which has already been published in this Review. The writer is evidently a man of great talent and presumably holds some high office in India. The important materials which he has brought forward are suggestive of several grave questions. I wish to say a few words on one of them. But let me mention at the outset that I do not speak of any rights of the native population of India. The question of colonial policy is big enough to be considered apart from our own political outlook.

"The end and object," we are told, "of the French Administration of Algeria the Mission of France in North Africa is to the French summed up in the word 'assimilation.' The colonists are to be assimilated to France, and the natives are to be assimilated to the colonists. Algeria. . . . is to become part and parcel of France, and its inhabitants of all colours . . . . and creeds are to be fused. . . . into the great French nation. . . . The French are fond of pointing to the work achieved by the old Roman Empire in the same field. . . . They say. . . . Algeria will. . . . be a part of France as Africa and Numidia were parts of Rome. . . . Among the local officers this ideal is often ignored or disowned. The possibility [of it] is not ever present with them. . . . any more than the possibility of 'granting autonomy to the Indians affects the current duties of our merchants and magistrates in India. . . . But among those who guide the general duties of the country the end which is kept consciously or unconsciously in view is always this same ultimate absorption of Algeria into France."

This French ideal at first sight seems to be very attractive. But the writer has adduced facts enough to show that, for practical purposes, it is impossible and hopeless if not absurd. I would not dwell on this branch of the subject. But I should like very much to hear what my own countrymen may have to say on the other side and by way of exposition of the doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation in India. The views of the colonizer and those of the native are expected to differ both as to end and means in respect of assimilation. The writer speaks from the colonizer's stand-point as matter of course. Where the native desires the French ideal he ought to be prepared with a psychological scrutiny to support him.

On the other hand it strikes me that in spite of the short-

hings of the French ideal the last word has not yet been said egard to the comparative merits of the French and English lonial policies. Indeed it would seem as if we were at the hreshhold of still more important suggestions. There was a difference between the Greek and the Roman colonial systems. I do not venture to draw any parallel between ancient Greek and Modern British colonial systems. But the claim of Pax Britannica in India does not necessarily establish that the British colonial system accords with the methods of Rome. History, it is said, repeats itself. But as in the revolutions of the screw there is in history always a propulsion in the line of least resistance. And the practical question is whether the British or the French modification of the Roman policy, as they are presented to the world, has, at all, attained the state of perfection.

The British nation now claims to furnish the most successful colonizers in the world. I believe little or nothing has been charged to the finances of the State in England for the vast Empire which Great Britain now holds. It is perhaps to this envied fact that we have to attribute the continental criticisms against British character. The commercial basis of British Imperialism is undeniable. It is open to question whether commercial success is perfectly congruous with Imperialist character. But France, it appears, has gone to the other extreme and does not care for any pecuniary profit at all. Earth hunger however is not necessarily innocent when it fetches no pecuniary profit. Assimilation may cost the Algerian more than what is drawn by England in money from India. England claims also no small amount of public magnanimity in having given up various portions of her possessions, *e. g.*, the Ionian Islands, Dunkirk, Heligoland, Corsica, Java, Cuba and other places. But England has also had to go to war for the United States, and it is not to be gainsaid that the Union of Ireland itself does not come up to the French ideal in Algeria. And Mr. Jamison's adventure show how very popular it was with large sections even when deserving of unqualified condemnation from the judicial authority.

As compared to Spanish policy, and even to that of Holland in Java, there is no longer any question that England has made a great advance. It is to be hoped the religious views which were once associated with the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems have now been completely renounced even at the Vatican. France again has no claims of Algerian description upon the citizenship and loyalty of the French States in Canada. Whereas the Englishman claims to carry his flag and citizenship wherever he goes. And in Alsace and Lorraine it does not appear that there has been any proposal for France to find the where withal and get transplanted into French soil

that portion of the local population which is disaffected to t sovereignty of Germany. The loss of the land it seen rather than that of the population touches France most, nex of course to the memory of the defeat and the strategical points of defence. But in Algiers France spends some 8,000 francs for every family which she settles on the land (p. 41). Before any settlers are moved out of France the Algerian Village has to be fairly built up upon the European model with roads, provision for drinking water, town halls, schools, wash-houses and churches (p. 40). The population excluding the army, numbers at some 270,000 French (p. 30). France spends annually on Algeria a good deal more than she receives from it, and it is estimated that Algeria has cost the Home Government from first to last not less than 150 millions sterling (p. 35).

These are very telling facts, and it is not at all clear whether the learned writer wanted them to point a moral. But important duties are here set down as being owed by a Republican Government toward such of its subjects as are forced by adverse circumstances to be taken to emigration. The French Revolution has changed the politics of Europe for ever, though France, herself, may not have recovered from all its consequences Napoleonic and Bismarckian. And it is not for an Indian to carp at the generous colonial policy of France. We are told almost in so many words that the subventions are incurred because some 15,000 Frenchmen leave France annually and because the French Government wants as many of them as can be availed of to go to Algeria so that they may not cease to be Frenchmen at all. Elsewhere he says :—

"Before proceeding further I would say a few words on the character of the colonization which the French have effected in [Algeria]. It is a colonization of a different character from that with which we are acquainted in our colonies. It is not a mere spontaneous movement of population from one environment to another. It is an essential part of the work of assimilation which the French have set before themselves in Algeria : a duty which the French, as a nation have undertaken, and which they are eager not as individuals, but as a nation to carry out."

This ethical view of the matter is striking to say the least It may of course be sneered at by some, and especially on the ground that the theory of assimilation is impracticable But it is a superstition to think that matters will right themselves without any centralised guidance. France may go on blundering ; but the lessons which her life furnishes are not to be neglected. Our own fate is so tied up with that of England that however coldly she may treat us, we

nnot afford to disconnect ourselves from her affairs. I do ot share the sentiments of those among ourselves who without eing aware of the French experiment in Algeria talk—may think—of an assimilation of Indians with the men England. The mild convulsion of the Ilbert Bill has had an important effect upon their views and generally upon Indian Society. The theory of assimilation is now taking new shape with us. A good many travelled Indians have been taken back into their Indian societies. Some of them have renounced all thought of assimilation in the matter of dress and other things. And a Hindu revivalism has appeared on the stage—for what effects no mortal man can say, On the other hand, if the policy of the British colonists or semi-colonists in India has undergone any change, the principles of that new departure are unknown at least to the native population. Possibly our Anglo-Indian fellow citizens indisposed as they are to formulate their views, expect us to draw our inferences, as they often draw their own, from the social atmosphere. But since the truth has now been stated in this Review, it must be felt at least that assimilation being out of the question the native and British-born subjects of India cannot draw in the same sort of breath. So that there is need enough for mutual explanations. Obscurantism may be unavoidable at times, but at any rate it must be reserved for exceptional cases. There is absolute danger in the visible growth of mutual suspicion between class and class in this country.

Everybody knows how the British colonial policy led to the Declaration of American Independence, and then to the strained feelings between the Englishman and the Yankee. It does not therefore require much to draw from these facts a parallel with the delicate questions which arose the other day with the levying of the cotton duties and in connection with the Suakim charges and Egyptian expedition to Soudan. These delicate questions arose all within the sphere of the British colonial policy for India, and it may ever be said that they generally cover the subject of all colonial autonomy. It is the colonisers' interests alone which the English people seem to care for. But that would be taking only a superficial view of the question. The account of the French policy in Algeria suggests by way of contrast as if there was a tacit understanding between the Government and the Colonisers of the British nation to spare each other as well in the matters of tribute or subvention as in any close scrutiny of the dealings with the native population. Consequently, there is room enough for misgiving and misconstruction on the part of all outsiders. The difficulties of the Indian political problem, instead of being simplified, have grown in magnitude, and are not altogether to

be measured by the utterances of the Indo-Auglian press & platform. They furnish no clue to many things good and bad which are unknown to the people themselves. The utterances however are really due to this same unsound policy of assimilation. That policy now looks absurd in Algeria. But all the same it exists in India, and has to be traced back to Anglo-Indian Society of at least an earlier date. On the other hand colonial autonomy as applied to India would not probably discount the native population as happens to be the case in the Territories of the United States. The native opinion on the Suakim charges was treated with cold reticence in Madras by Government after a questionable attempt at suppression. On the cotton duties question that class of opinion was probably given an undue importance in Calcutta. And upon the whole if there has been no obscurantist purpose against an understanding of the present British policy by the Indians, the facts surrounding the compensation allowance and simultaneous examination questions were sufficiently mysterious to give rise to noxious misunderstanding. The upshot is that the British Colonial policy may not quite dispense with something in the nature of a native autonomy. It promises to make an indispensable complement to the autonomy of the colonist or semi-colonist class coming here from Great Britain. And from this point of view it would become clear that in so far as the French ideal of assimilation in Algeria appears to be absurd, the fact is largely due to British experiences in India in the same line. But the two policies have to be put together. A line has to be drawn beyond which assimilation cannot and ought not to be stretched, and where the autonomous colony can tolerate a definite autonomy in the native population. And the problem is where to draw that line and how. Imperial Federation and Home Rule stand equally condemned with the French ideal of complete assimilation. The Roman Model is hardly sufficient, whereas the Greek and the Spanish models are out of date. On the other hand what policy is both sound and practicable, in morals as well as politics is not a matter to be left to adjust itself upon the Darwinian method by the interaction of the colonists and the natives. The ethical question is not altogether quixotic after all.

One immediate lesson may be drawn from the Algerian experience. It is neither safe nor wise to overdo the destruction of their religious views and practices with the native population. Religion may not be treated altogether as a fad. One of our Indian assimilators seems to be mad for battering down the Hindu religious endowments. Government was discreet enough to give him a snub once. But my friend is at it again. And thanks to the obscurantist policy of to-day it is

impossible for one like the present writer to make out how many wheels are in motion and who is really responsible for this bold assimilator's over-zealous efforts against the Mohunts. However here are the Algerian facts. The French assimilators there have been quite undeterred by public opinion against the disendowment of religious establishment by Henry VIII in England and by the Revolutionists of 1789. The disendowment of the Mahomedan Church in Algeria has been prettily shown up by the sort of allotment which is made by the French Government to the several sections of the people. The figures for 1891 as given in this Review make out the following proportions, upon which any remarks would be feeble for their superfluity.

	Money grant.	Population.
Christians ...	76·75	12
Jews ...	2·125	1·25
Mahomedans ...	21·125	86·75
	100	100

By way of counterpoise, however, we are informed that the Mollahs of Algeria are outwardly decorous, but the more fiery spirits indulge in informal outpourings at out-of-the-way places, and in a manner so as to cause to the French their "greatest difficulties." Religion counts for much in the government of Oriental peoples. For them the martyrdom of Jesus is as shocking as are the executions of Louis XVI and Charles I.

In the threatened scramble in India for the loaves and fishes of the Hindu religious endowments the losing party is certainly not likely to keep quiet, or get crushed for ever. And if autonomy of the colonists alone be not quite sufficient for the purposes of British colonial policy, the blind rage of the Indian assimilators must be supplemented or neutralised by a wisdom which is beyond their reach. If the revival of Buddhist literature in Europe can have led to the revival of claims to the Temple at Gya, it is only some foolhardy Indian assimilators who can hope to shake their fists with perfect impunity at the Mohunts. They have had a long history behind them of which these gentlemen seem to know so little, although they care so much for their misconduct and also their valuables. But altogether it is a most strange story that when the greatest intellects have to pause between a theory of assimilation and one of autonomy in colonial policy some of our own countrymen here have no doubt in their minds at all that "the dumb millions" of India are being assimilated to the demonstrationists of Hyde Park.

JOGENDRO CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. VIII.—EASTER MORNING.*

BY G. GEROK.

Translated from the German in the measure of the original, by M. R. Weld, M.C.S.

1. EASTER DAWNS.

The earth in the night's arms is sleeping,
In Heaven still glimmers each star,
Still the Easter Angels are keeping
Their motionless vigil afar;
The dawn breaks not yet, for which sad hearts are sighing;
In the tomb in the garden the Lord yet is lying.

Lifts not its wing yet lightly
The wind of the morning chill?
Grows it not brighter slightly,
Eastward by yonder hill?
The mist of the morning seems trembling and lifting,
Its grey convolutions are swaying and shifting.

What heavenly witnesses yonder,
Forth from those grey folds lean,
Still, as in reverent wonder,
Till morn's first light be seen;
Waiting and watching as brother by brother?
Death is the one named, and Life is the other.

Now dawn in the East is breaking!
Now swift through the brightening gloom
They fly at the Lord's call, taking
Their post by his empty tomb,
To tell the disciples, who wait events sadly,
The glorious tidings of Easter gladly.

Dark Angel of Death! be thy warning
Tender to him who must die:

* We insert this piece for its literary excellence; though it is appropriate also for this April (Easter) season.—*Ed., C. R.*

In the golden light of the morning
Kiss thou his lips and fly,
Bearing him up from life's toil and sore sorrow
To the glorious light of the heavenly morrow.

Bright Angel of Life! full plainly
To him who shall yet live say,
"See that thou live not vainly
In the light of this Easter Day:"
So Easter on earth here or there high in Heaven,
More life yet or death, each for joy shall be given.

2. EASTER'S SUN RISES.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king!

Where are the traces of the new morning?
Himself where is he, who dead was deemed?
The Prince of life where? His kingdom where?

Spreads not around the Earth of yesterday?
Hangs not above the sky of yesterday?
Do not men strive without as yesterday?
Beats not my heart within as yesterday?
Threat not below the graves of yesterday?

Christ is risen. The Lord is our king!

He raised mine eyes up to the new dawning;
With new eyes see I the sky above me.
Through the cloud-screen torn asunder
I, His child, behold my Father,
And up there for me a mansion prepared.

With new eyes see I the earth around me.
In spite of all powers that would stay it
His footstep most holy to victory goes.
Gird up thy loins then, not vainly strivest thou in the Lord.

With new eyes see I my fellowmen here,
For whose sake died He, and now is risen.

Since which His brethren became my brethren
The true elected of God's own kingdom.

With new eyes see I into the heart.
Off is the mountain of guilt that pressed it;
And with spring's vigour the new life blossoms.

With new eyes see I the graves around me;
The dust of earth there shall rise up heavenly.
Sleep well—till morning.

Christ is risen. The Lord is our King.

3. EASTER'S WOMEN.

Come women, speed ye! the new wonder heed ye!
Ask ye who rolled back the door stone for you?
Dark night of sorrow gives place to glad morrow,
Now that the Saviour liveth anew.

In life well belovéd each true to him provéd,
Followed Him, stayed by His cross till He died,
Watched in the garden as sepulchre warden,
Yours the reward of devotion long tried.

Mother! thy sadness is turned into gladness,
Thou hear'st again to day "this is thy Son."
Mercy transcending, life's path trod He, wending
From the manger His way by the cross to the throne.

Bethany's Mary! turn not to where He
Late slept the death sleep; thy sorrowing eyes
Raise them to Heaven, greater things even
Doth He than bidding thy brother arise.

Magdala's Mary! com'st thou to where He
Lay? see'st thou beckon the gardener's hand?
Hear'st thou His greeting?—Fall at His feet in
Great joy!—'Tis thy Master before thee doth stand.

Women of Easter! none of you ceased her
Service, through need through dishonor found true;

Our hearts grow firmer to bear without murmur,
Since, that Love strong as Death is, is shown us by you.

Women of Easter ! you first released their
Hearts from despair, bade men lift up their eyes
Hopeful to Heaven, to you 'twas given
To learn the joy first as faith's holiest prize.

Women of Easter ! through you increased are
The beauties of meadows and gardens to-day ;
You brought the tidings !—stay our backslidings—
To God's own garden show us the way.

4. EASTER'S DEAD.

To sleep in God ! thrice blest it is to-day ;
Soon as the eyes close what ensues ? The prize
Is won, a heavenly body for this clay ;
The soul from bonds to blessed freedom flies ;
As balm for parting pain we softly say
"We meet again ; in Christ we shall arise."
With tender Easter green the grave is bright,
Death lends but wings to scale the heavenly height.

Ye loved ones there ! why are ye called the dead
Who ever happy drink of life's clear spring ?
Ye sick ones here, rejoice if with light tread
The messenger come, blest relief to bring.
Bereavéd ones, who, sorrowing bow the head,
Lo ! the void place is filled by Christ the King,
So cast three clods into the grave and say,
"Life, love, light," for the loved one past away.

5. EASTER'S FLOWERS.

Ye fade not like the chaplets on tombs poor mourners lay,
Ye rise again in glory like Christ on Easter Day.

The joyous cowslip carries her golden clusters bright,
First seen in bloom at Easter, like lamps of living light.

The anemony peeps shyly, 'mid brown leaves sere and dead,
Her snow-white festal garment bordered with rosy red.

Free sheds her wild-wood fragrance the purple violet,
That, with her dark-hued vesture, seems half in mourning yet.

Wild hyacinths their carpet of deepest azure spread,
'Mid the dim woods recalling the hues of Heaven o'erhead.

Meek daisy in the grasses! dear oracle of love,
Token of love unfailing of God in Heaven above.

All in a flowery garden they laid Him in the grave,
But now He lives, the wide Earth shall be His garden brave.

6. EASTER'S MEN.

Went two disciples sadly faring
Together through the fields at eve,
Tidings had come, which their despairing
And fainting hearts could scarce believe;
And as they communed, One drew nigh them,
Who heard and taught them, walking by them,
Till their hearts burned in them; but, who
He was, till parting, neither knew.

How many a worthy man, pursuing
His calling duly day and night
With honest labour, striving, doing
What duty bids with all his might,
To find his Lord still on is pressing,
Yet never nearer seems the blessing,
Though for long time, near, full in view,
Christ has been by, if but he knew.

Another, leaving the broad highways
Where worldlings throng in concourse dense,
Goes seeking through untrodden by-ways
To find his Lord, in search intense:

Despair oft waylays him to blind him,
Whisp'ring "tis vain! thou canst not find Him,'
While at his side his wanderings through
The Saviour walks, if but he knew.

So on with trustful hearts, untiring,
Whate'er befalleth by the way,
Nor Earthly joy nor gain requiring
To gladden our fair Easter Day
When we see won for us a treasure
Surpassing what man's thought can measure;
And if hearts burn, think on the two
Who walked with Him, while neither knew.

Faith knows Him, God's own gift most glorious
By the world's doubts all undefiled,
Which, over Death and Grave victorious,
To God the Father leads His child.
Though evil's storms may loom and lower
No blast shall blight that Easter flower,
If Christ's dear hand, for thee pierced through,
To the new life thy heart renew.

Love knows Him, true Love! ne'er refusing
To help the brethren in their need,
Ever the blessed spring-time choosing
For sowing holy Easter seed.
Oh! well it is for him who knoweth
To follow where Christ's footstep goeth
Through the wide fields, with insight true,
Seeing that He hath risen from the dead?

7. EASTER'S CHILDREN.

Up, children, in garden and meadow for you
From Heaven's blue spaces, see angel hands strew,
For little girls flowers, full of beauty and sweetness,
For little boys butterflies, bright in their fleetness;

At Easter.

"Come catch me, my boy," says the fish in the stream
And the butterfly as he flits by like a gleam;
Hums the cockchafer, "tell me my name I beseech thee"
"Sing, child," cries the bird, "my sweet song I will teach thee"

At Easter.

Come, boys, hunt for spoils through the sunshiny hours!
Come, girls, and weave wreathes of the beautiful flowers!
And the bright Easter eggs, of all colors, to fête you,
All ready upon your return, shall await you,

At Easter.

Heaven reigns upon earth on this bright Easter-day,
In the little ones' innocent hearts at their play:
Yes the children below here, the bright angels o'er us,
And the sunbeams and birds praise the Lord in glad chorus

At Easter.

M. R. WELD.

ART. IX.—SOME SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE close of the nineteenth century marking the termination of an era in our government of this large continent, entrusted to our care by an Almighty Providence, has been chiefly remarkable for progress connected more especially with the social condition of the many and diverse nations that populate the vast area of India. The chain of conquests and the subjugation of foreign lands and tribes is always one of the many signs that speak of a nation's growth. The mere fact of continuous additions to the territories of a mighty power is proof positive that that power is certainly not on the decline, and that the innate knowledge of its mighty strength will draw all latent forces to the front and will compel all inferior things to give way before the onward wave of expansion. Territorial acquisitions speak in terms too plain of a nation's brute force (if we may so call it), but social expansions and social internal revolutions are witnesses, none the less true, of the spiritual and moral backbone which alone can supply the fibres and tissues by which great military deeds are achieved. In this mighty continent of India, our administration has been the means of introducing radical ideas regarding justice and the rights and duties of fellow-men to each other. Our rule has been marked by the extermination of savage rites such as the most savage nations on God's earth only possess. The prohibition of suttee, thuggee and other germane atrocities has inculcated the notions of justice and freedom which alone can guarantee a future social and moral growth. We have now reached a stage in our administration of this country when the voice of duty calls to us imperiously to herald the way to internal revolutions of a social nature, which, if unheeded, will only be a precursory admonition that we are unworthy of the important trust a Merciful Providence has given into our charge. The last social change, and one that will be the most complete, is the overthrow of caste—a matter which, at the present moment, is in the dim future of possibilities, with only this certainty that at this epoch it is absolutely impracticable. And yet all our foreign and European civilization has only one tendency, which is undermining slowly but only too surely the base of that great Indian Juggernauth, which is at once a mighty blessing in the attendant good which it brings in its train and an overwhelming course which drains the life-blood of Indian social life and deprives it of every tissue that might work to produce a homogeneous and united whole. Acknowledge it, if we will, or if we will not, the impulse of a growing

and a more enlightened Christianity is producing in the people of India, the germs of a revolution which, when accomplished, will cause this vast continent in all its utmost length and breadth to quiver to its very foundation—and then with a mighty bound the prospects of Indian and Oriental civilization and culture will, with caste overthrown, rush on to the attainment of an excellence, which we, in our enlightened portion of the globe in Europe, will be fortunate if we can rival.

Of the three distinctive and characteristic social developments of the latter portion of this century with which we, as a governing nation, are connected, the first is the organization of medical aid to the suffering women of the higher castes and nobler families of India. Female medical aid to all classes is a great boon, but its consummation is reached in the application of it to all women, who by national customs are forbidden to engage in the society of the outer world; and by making this system self-supporting, in that, native female doctors are being trained up on all hands to continue the work begun we have reached as near the perfection of our ideal as is possible for the time being.

The second factor in the social condition of India is one to which we frequently try and close our eyes, as if, like the proverbial ostrich in the desert, we can hide from ourselves the vast and illimitable possibilities which are now looming in the future, from the steady and indomitable pluck displayed by the National Congress. The rise in England of a democratic spirit was one which received the censure of all the aristocratic and powerful families, which had till that time held the reins of Government in their own hands. But the rise of democracy, together with the accompanying knowledge, spread broadcast through the nation that the commonalty was the true back-bone of English power, was the day-star which marks, and will forever mark, the introduction of true freedom and true liberal principles after the reign of the Dark Ages—with the rise of democracy is closely connected the rise of protestantism, freedom in spiritual matters, abhorrence of all semblance of tyranny, and a clear and searching examination into all the details of administration and the consequent abolition of abuses. Similarly in India, we may find what fault we will, with the National Congress, but with the spirit which has brought the Congress into being and which is its true motive power, we cannot but remain in admiration. That is the spirit which has made England what she is—which made a Cromwell wield the bāton of power, which helped men to brave the Inquisition and the terrors of an auto dà fè—which has made sovereigns stand in awe of the surging masses whose representatives have claimed the privilege of resisting tyranny and of bringing to light all the hidden things of darkness. That

the spirit which is the true moving power in the world nd vox populi vox Dei, when received as the motto of the Indian nations, will produce a revolution which will upheave that is evil and bring to light all that is good. This attainnt is at present far from realization, but let us not forget that it is only a question of time—the transition will and must come.

The third phase of social development is the one which deals with the health and sanitary interests of the people and is embodied generally in the policy of the extension of a complete system of water-works and drainage to all the chief towns in the different provinces. This is, of course, only a provisional measure, and in process of time we shall see all towns in all districts supplied with the benefits and advantages possessed at present only by the larger cities. This is an innovation as remarkable as it is important. Considering how recent has been such an introduction of sanitary measures into England, it is a subject of admiration how zealous the Indian Executive has been to introduce all the blessings of European domestic civilization into the homes of the Indian citizens. A century ago such a proposal would have been ridiculed as the essence of folly, but the latter half of this nineteenth century has been favoured with the opportunity of attempting to achieve what will, when it has been fully developed, prove to be a source of infinite blessing to all the inhabitants of towns.

Thus far we have allowed ourselves to view the progressive stages by which India is working out her destiny and to congratulate ourselves upon the substantial assistance we are fording her in pursuing the direct course which leads to the me goal, that we are travelling towards in Europe. Amidst these causes of self-approbation there is a danger that we ought as Englishmen to avoid, and it is our very devotion to duty that in many instances blinds us to the wisdom of the old proverb that "Charity begins at home"—we may, and do devote ourselves and our highest talents in the interests of the material progress of the Indian citizen, and it is only fair to put forward as a fact that, whatever our personal feelings towards any of the inhabitants of this continent, whether of kindness and disinterested affection, or of callousness and the elfish desire to hold ourselves aloof from interference in all hat vitally concerns them, yet, when any plain duty has been ssigned to any officer, however humble his appointment in the gigantic system of Indian Administration, his thorough devotion to the fulfilment of orders is a certainty that none would be so bold as to question. However we forget ourselves—we forget that although India's calls require immediate and unstinting attention, we ourselves are a large com-

munity for the most part dragging out our period of service as in place of exile. India has attractions; but it has draw-backs —a loss of European friends, separation from families, pecuniary troubles, loss of health, and frequently all too sudden death. These are the obstacles which every devoted and loyal servant of Her Majesty has to contend with, and though there are alleviations to the dull monotony of life, yet the iron too often enters into the soul and embitters all that is fairest in human nature. The question as to the manner in which we fulfil our duties to ourselves, is one that deserves the closest attention of every observer. Do we extend to ourselves the benfits that we so freely lavish on an alien race, and are we not only too apt to forget that the work of a single European in this large country, cannot be adequately compared with the work done by even the ablest of the natives. Each European is in himself a model of the outcome of Western civilization and points the moral of the infinite possibilities attainable in India. For us Englishmen the presence of each European in this country is an extra guarantee to the maintenance and stability of our power. Therefore, we cannot be too cautious in the measures we adopt to alienate or to ingratiate every fellow-countryman, and regarding the matter from the most selfish standpoint of our own material interests, we literally cannot afford to trifle with the genuine material by which our administration in India is carried on. It is a short-sighted policy that speaks fair and acts foul—that raises hopes and casts down a life's hard worn ambitions—that incites in the bosom the canker which eats to the very vitals. Our supremacy in India depends upon our own strong arm, tempered with a merciful consideration of the aims and aspirations of the natives of the continent—but chief and foremost we must have sterling merit among our own countrymen. We must watch with anxiety what is imported and what is fostered in this country. The raising of financial difficulties, the diminution of stipends that are all too hard earned in a distant exile, the failure to extend the advantages already possessed by natives to ourselves, such as the introduction of a water-supply into cantonments, when the adjacent native city is already enjoying the luxury, the blighting of a life's cherished prospects by an attack on, or callous indifference to pension rules, are all dangerous experiments which show no tangible result at the present, but may lead to unenviable complications when young India relinquishes his leading strings and flinging aside the restraints that have hitherto held him, rises to compete and vie with Western civilization, and, may be, in the exuberance of his new-fledged liberty, to flaunt himself in the eyes of his European conqueror.

C. A. SHERRING, B.A. (Camb.), C.S.

ART. X.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from January 1900, No. 223.)

CHAPTER VII.

1889.

THIS year witnessed the apogee of the two melodramatic personages, Boulanger and Parnell; men very dissimilar in character; yet alike in having risen to very high power and still higher hope (which they proved unable to carry to final achievement) and not less alike in premature ruin and death.

The Frenchman became really formidable to the constitutional authorities of his country, by means of money supplied to him by political intriguers, among whom my friend, Philippe VII, was grievously suspected of figuring. But the Republic took heart; and, being prosecuted criminally, the brave General retreated and came to Jersey with his fair friend Mme. de B.

As will be found in the ensuing pages, that Island continued one's centre (though radiation took place). The visits to London were pleasant and fairly remunerative; and there were excursions for lectures—by invitation—to Oxford and Brecon.

In Home politics there was little doing; the public mind was much occupied with the protracted sittings of the Parnell Commission. I saw less of the distinguished Society at the Athenaeum, using the Saville in Piccadilly during short visits to London. I was a good deal in the company of Mr. Hawkins of S. Bride's, and of his since distinguished son.*

January, Tuesday 8th.—An answer from the Editor of the *N. B. Dicty.* to whom I had written about the relations of Nuncomar to Warren Hastings, and how he would wish them treated in the biographic article on which I was engaged. Had the satisfaction of learning that he quite thought it would suffice to refer briefly to the evidence, leaving the main discussion of details until one came to treat of Sir Elijah Impey.

Wednesday, 9th.—Called to-day in Douro Terrace, where I met the Rev. S. V., a London Vicar, and evidently an earnest man. He said the East End was improving and expressed a strong faith in "Local Option."

Saturday, 12th.—Called on Pére Mourier, Rector of the Jesuit Seminary, which I remember a "Grand Hotel" in 1868, when we were going from Guernsey to Paris. It is now of

* Known so well in England and America as "Anthony Hope," author of "The God in the Car" and inventor of modern duologue.

course quite refitted and applied to the purposes of a monastery with a school attached, where many cadets of good Fre[illegible] families are trained for their army and navy. The Rec[illegible] is a typical Jesuit, of the severer class, who lent me Regnier's Satires under promise of secrecy. The Library is a vast collection of old books.

Wednesday, 16th.—Read "Anna Karénina" which poor Matt. Arnold prised so highly. It seemed to me an artless work—but if fiction be an art this is not praise. The scenes and characters, that is to say, are irrelevent, so that one hardly feels in presence of an integrated whole. But as an album of photographs it produces a memorable impression; showing a Semi-Asiatic Society, where all the men are jealous and all the women justify the jealousy: *nàiveté* and kindliness going along with an amount of frankness that is very rough.

Monday, 28th.—Amiel's *Journal* with Preface by Edmond Schérer.* The diarist appears as a sad example of the shortcomings of perfection. Had he been less fastidious he would have been more useful; escaping the sterility which now blights him, like our poet Thomas Gray in the last century. This is indeed the Nemesis of criticism, when a really superior man is always on the look out for something to blame, untii he is surprised in mid-career and the Night cometh, whereln no man can work. It must be sorrowfully admitted that many do this who have not the same grounds for a noble dissatisfaction. Amiel's nature was sweet though morbid. Fi[illegible]on self-study his attention seldom wandered to mankind. [illegible]ith his politics; he did not love Democracy, but he mig[illegible] have thought of what it warded off. Filled with a just sense of his own distinction, he scorned the notions of equality on which he imagined Democracy to be founded. Yet he was aware that, in the long run, only what is just can prosper: if Democracy permits itself the ideal of a false equality, yet a demand for justice is implied which saves it. It is false, no doubt, to assume that human beings are born equal; but the democrat is not wrong when he claims for all, equal chances; the inevitable distinctions of Nature ought not to be accentuated by artificial usurpations. That is the injustice which Democracy forbids, and so becomes the antidote to privilege. So true it is that "we cannot understand an idea unless we understand its antithesis."

February, Friday, 1st.—Pascal—borrowing from an earlier author—says that "God is to be conceived of as a circle of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference no-

* AMIEL, Henri Frédéric; born at Geneva, 1821, educated in Prussia, a Professor in his native place for more than 30 years; *d.* 1881. E. Schérer, also at one time a Professor at Geneva, was a distinguished Critic; *d.* 1889.

where," such a circle as I, for one, cannot conceive. But the word "*concevoir*" was used in those days—as by Descartes—in a less scientific sense than that which we attach to the corresponding word in modern English. In fact a modern English philosopher once scandalised orthodoxy by declaring that we could not conceive God at all.*

Friday, 15*th*.—Reading Demogeot on French literature, was struck with his remark on the dislike of writers for the school immediately preceding. Something in the same way as border-nations regard each other. In the days of Shelley and Keats the Pope-School was anathema, while they were very indulgent to Spenser and held Chaucer in adoration.

Saturday, 16*th*.—Calling at Longueville Manor met an interesting old travelling Scottish Minister; a great talker who retailed chesnuts and required total silence for their reception, but otherwise agreeable and even interesting. In this case surely, it is not more blessed to give than to receive. There is a lot to be learned from an intelligent wanderer's prosing.

Monday, 18*th*.—Finished Daudet's "L'Immortel," a work showing deterioration of scope and skill. The author seems bent on competing with the lowest of the so-called Realists; but he is really worse than they in that he pumps up the filth which with others flows in a spontaneous drain. As in "Sapho,' one finds an unpleasant cynicism in the calculated coarseness of one capable of better things. It seems as though the views of literature on either side of the Channel made an irreconcileable parallax. With all their apparent optimism and their immeasurable superiority in artistic form and *technique*, French writers seldom care for the ideal. Their Muses live in a Palladian palace backed by rim parterres, with the front upon a bustling street. Ours inhabit a Gothic castle; looking, on one side, towards a misty range of hill and meadow; bounded on the other by a dark expanse of cloudy sea. Napoleon spoke of the two nations as Rome and Carthage. Such analogies are hard to sustain; but at the present moment England seems more like the Rome of Juvenal in its relations to Greece.

Saturday, 23*rd*.—To Col. H.'s† where the Lieutenant-Governor read a paper on military aspects of the French Revolution. He raised the often-debated question whether times of crisis produced great men, or *vice versâ*. May not both views be right?

March, Monday, 11*th*.—Began a course of Lectures on the

* Dean Mansel (1820-71) "The limits of religious thought." *Bampton Lectures* for 1858.

† Lt.-Gen. C. B. Ewart, C. B., Royal Engineers; a Crimean veteran.

Literature of France.† An interesting subject to the writer; but how about readers? Or hearers?

Saturday, 30*th*.—Over to Southampton, a pleasant voyage. Received hospitably at S. Bride's.

Sunday, 31*st*.—A Philistine congregation at S. Paul's, a[illegible] 2,000 well-dressed persons and—so far as could be seen—one artizan. Music magnificient: Sir John Stainer says Gounod told him it was the finest in Europe. In afternoon went to some studios: saw a lot of good colouring. Clord and H. Jones dined, and we had a pleasant evening in the good Vicar's study.

April, Monday, 1*st*.—A batch of candidates of the familiar type. Returning to the Vicarage dined tête-à-tête with A. H. who then accompanied me to the Globe Theatre to see Mr. Mansfield's Richard III. An intelligent and careful rendering not overlaid with costume and scenery. The house was anything but full.† *Richard* is, of course, not one of Shakespere's mature works; and the period is incurably ignoble: think of the principal public men; Louis XI., Edward IV., Ferdinand the Catholic, and Pope Alexander VI. Shakespere hardly brings out the special selfishness of the period, crepuscular between barbarism and civilisation.

Friday, 5*th*.—At Saville. Mr. G. Balfour suggested that the Authors' Society should offer a dinner to French writers this season and get Lord Lytton to take the chair.

Sunday, 7*th*.—Morning pleasantly passed in walking along the embankment—a blessed change from what one recollects of this part of London. Lunched at Saville, then called on Mrs. Lynn Linton and the Sandars at Queen Ann's Mansions. Every service at S. Bride's, where a Prebendary of S. Paul's gave a common place sermon of the forcible feeble style. Mr. Turpin, as usual, played the organ nobly.

Monday, 8*th*.—Called at the Vicarage of S. Philip's, Stepney. Rev. S. V.—mentioned as having been met in Jersey—is a wealthy man, married to an energetic and charming lady; and they are doing great things in Whitechapel. He is rebuilding the church—mainly, I believe, at his own cost; and he has thrown out recreation-rooms of all sorts at the back of his parsonage. The male parishioners accept all that he does to brighten their lives; on condition, however, that he is not to ask them to come to Church.

Thursday, 11*th*.—Accompanied A. H. on a visit to the Stuart Exhibition: very interesting. It is difficult to account for the

* Afterwards published in Murray's "University Extension Manuals." *Literature of France;* 1892.

† Mr. M., a young American actor, at that time of much promise, played the tyrant ably; especially in the wooing of the shrewish Lady Ann.

attraction exercised by that family. There used to be a tale of Macaulay, on his famous stay at Windsor Castle: he was looking at a portrait of King James II whom his Gracious Hostess called; "My unfortunate ancestor, Mr. Macaulay!" "Your Majesty's unfortunate *predecessor*, Ma'am" corrected the Historian. M., at least, did not share the hypnotism.

Sunday, 14*th*.—Back to Jersey; after an ideal passage.

Tuesday, 16th.—Lectured, to a (locally) distinguished and friendly audience of about 100, on literary aspects of the French Revolution; what writers produced the movement and what writers did the movement produce.

Friday, 19*th*.—A horse chesnut in blossom: cut asparagus in our garden.

Monday, 29*th*.—Extension lecture by a Mr. Mallet.

May, *Thursday*, 9*th*.—Humphrey Godfray sworn in as Greffier of the Royal Court: a deserved preferment.

Tuesday, 14*th*.—Heard that the dinner to French authors is fixed for 3rd July; am asked to be a Steward.

Wednesday, 15*th*.—Invitation to lecture at Oxford on August

Monday, 20*th*.—To Gouray where we saw some shots fired 20-lb. Armstrong guns at 1,200 yards range, at moving objects—supposed to be boats attempting a debarcation; would have liked to back the boats. And indeed no modern attack would be made in that way; but the enemy would drop shells into the town till it surrendered.

Wednesday, 29*th*.—Finished "John Ward; Preacher;" a very sympathetic tale with considerable power as to character and description. It gives one a pleasant notion of Yankee rural life; honest, amiable, and not much narrower than rural life almost always must be. The beliefs and manners remind me of an old Bostonian lady whom I knew in early days; only, about her, there was more mental independence, and perhaps less amiability. The religious tone not very different from that of "Robert Elsmere;" as if the orthodoxy retained in Protestantism had ceased to have much hold upon the author.

Thursday, 30*th*.—A pleasant excursion with family; very fine day. Shock of earthquake at 8-15 P.M.

June, *Monday*, 3*rd*.—A few strawberries ripe. Weather lovely.

Sunday, 9*th*.—Read a sad article by Mr. F. Greenwood, in Knowles's *Review*; subject, the Poor of London. He seems to regard their case as almost irremediable. What he says of the increasing sympathy of the more comfortable classes, is consolatory, and marks a difference between our condition and that of Rome under the Cæsars. It is, however, a dark analogy that remains; the decline of Rome began when the

Empire expanded beyond its normal powers of defence, and the rural districts were depopulated. The lines that Johnson put into Goldsmith's "Traveller" have been derided ("Princes and peers," etc.); but no greater danger can be imagined than a dwindling defence spread over an ever-expanding surface.

Thursday, 13*th*.—Mr. M.'s last Extension Lecture at the Town Hall. Audience thinner than ever. The course has been good; but the demand for that kind of instruction has to be created in Jersey.

Monday, 17*th*.— Reading Boileau by the help of La Harpe; what an artificial product! But then all art must be artificial; though indeed this need not be so very evident.

Tuesday, 25*th*.—The brightest of weather. The Bailiff's garden-party, well-managed, and a pleasant gathering. Struck with contrast between Father Mr. C. and the Jesuit Rector. I fancy the secular clergy are more men of the world than the regulars of whatever order.

July, *Monday*, 1*st*.—Crossed to Southampton in l[ost] weather but contrary tides; not reaching my London lodg[ing] till half past eleven at night.

Wednesday, 3*rd*.—The Authors' dinner; not a success as far as French writers' attendance went; for the only men letters from France were M. M. Yriarte and "Max O'Rell" which is much the same as if, some years ago, Pinnock and Albert Smith had represented English literature in Paris. Lord Pembroke* was a handsome and effective Chairman and Lady P. wore some sparkling jewels. Besant and old Sala† spoke, as they always do, most ably; and I had a pleasant neighbour in Sir John Stainer."‡

Friday, 5*th*.—Great heat, with N. E. Wind. Pratt called at the Saville and we walked together to Temple Bar.§ He is the same generous enthusiast that he was at 20. Dined with Lord—and afterwards with him to the Criterion Theatre where he had taken stalls. The play was a revival of Tom Taylor's rococo farce "still waters run deep;" but the cast was good; and Mrs. Bernard Beere's costumes were gorgeous. Amusing "gag" of a comedian named Blakely: the guests at a suburban villa waiting for dinner were wiling away time by the usual desultory talk; and B., as an elderly gentleman, had asked a younger member of the company after his uncle

* George, 13th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; son of Sidney Herbert, *or* Lord Herbert of Lea (whose statue is in front of the War Office in Pall Mall). The Earl died in 1895.

† G. A. Sala, well-known journalist: *d*. 1895.

‡ Sir J. S., Mus. Doc., Prof. of Music in Oxford University.

§ Hodgson Pratt, life-long Champion of Peace and Good Will among men.

nd been told that the gentleman was dead. After some other ttempts to start a conversation the old man turned again to he other and asked him—as if it were a new subject—the same question that he had asked before; "How is your uncle, Sir?" And as he was a little deaf and listening with a great air of attention, the young man answered, in a strong Cork accent—"He's still dead Sir."

Saturday, 6th.—Went to Norwood with Gen. N. A great crowd at the Crystal Palace to see the Shah of Persia for whom fireworks were to be let off. H. M. sate in a box on the upper gallery, the only thing we saw of him being a reflected light on his spectacles. The commissariat broke down; and it was not until 9 P.M. that we got a scrap of cold meat on the roof by corrupting a waiter.

Tuesday, 9th.—Lunch with Gen. N. at the East India Club in S. James's Square; meeting Dr. D. who, having begun life as a Magyar conspirator with Andrassy and Kossuth, had come to be Civil Surgeon at Simla, and was now a retired British officer living in a suburb of London.

Thursday, 11th.—Lovely day, wind veering to W. The season a little waning; but the show of female beauty and virile manhood, well-groomed horses and well-appointed vehicles, made the Park in the afternoon an almost over-powering spectacle. How is it to end, this plethora?

Friday, 12th.—A thunderstorm cleared the air and relieved the pressure on people's heads. Lunched with H.s in Portland Place: blue blood in a kindly and modest shape. Took A. to the Haymarket at night, to see "Masks and Faces," an old-fashioned play, artificial rather than artistic. Mrs. B. B. dashing and effective, and Beerbohm Tree very graceful.

Saturday, 13th.—To Q. A. Mansions; called on Mrs. Toynbee and the Sandars* Wm. T. and Miss H. acted a neat little duologue, by Theyre Smith, called "A bad quarter of an hour."

Sunday, 14th.—To Cumberland Gardens, to call on Miss Swanwick.† Met Mr. A. B., M. P., and his wife (widow of poor Lionel Tennyson whom I had known at the India Office). Dined at S. Bride's, meeting Duffield."‡

Wednesday, 17th.—H. and son dined with me at Saville. To the Court Theatre, much amused with Mr. John Wood in a farcical piece called "Uncle Jack."

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* *Sandars*, T. C., was a lawyer, scholar, and journalist of well-known ability.

† Miss S. was a good scholar in Greek and German, and interested in female education.

‡ *Duffield*, A. J. Man of science and letters; translated *Don Quixote*, *d.* 1890.

Saturday, 20th.—A gathering at Cumberland Terrace; t hostess, with her pleasant smile and air of intelligence r minded one of the godmother in a fairy tale. Several peop one was glad to see, Mrs. and Miss Toynbee, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and two ladies who were jointly made known to me as "Michael Field."*

Friday, 26th.—Went with Gen. N. to call on Major Yeldham † He was hard at work on political calculations and correspondence, so we did not stay long. He has a staff of assistants travelling about the country doing election business for the new party calling itself "Liberal Unionist." This curious title really implies a combination that seems likely to absorb the old whigs.

Saturday, 27th.—Examining from 10 to 6-15, with interval for lunch during which I tried to cross S. James's and Green Parks to the Saville. There was a dense crowd about the Mall to see the Prince of Wales pass escorted by a guard of cuirassiers: H. R. H. being on his way to the Palace to "give away" his daughter to the Earl of Fife :‡ I got through; and, on returning after lunch met the bride and bridegroom just turning into Constitution Hill: they were in a close carriage, but one got a glimpse of a pale, sweet face. The evening was stormy with the heaviest rain I ever saw in Europe.

Sunday, 28th.—Service at S. Bride's; Dean Vaughan preached on prayer. The substance struck one as perfunctory twaddle, but the language and delivery as beautiful as when G. and I heard him more than twenty years ago.

Tuesday, 30th.—Signed memorial in favour of Vizetelly §

Wednesday, 31st.—To Oxford, put up at King's Arms; the house had changed management and my cap and gown were missing: having been left there as a place of safety. Called on Thomas at Jesus.

August, Thursday, 1st.—Lecture by Poulton, tutor of Keble; very clever, but on a subject I should have thought ticklish, the audience being largely composed of lady-teachers and other spinsters: it went off very well, all the same. Dined with the Stainers; a pleasant evening, Sir John and daughter playing duets. On my asking what he thought of the pianoforte as an instrument he replied; "well, you see; it is the

*This was a name assumed by two maiden ladies, Misses Bradley and Cooper, who published some fine dramatic work in those days.

† Known in India as "Alif Cheem," author of "Lays of Ind." at that time employed, as election-agent, by the Liberal Unionists.

‡ Created a Duke for the occasion.

§ Mr. Henry V. once a journalist; sentenced to imprisonment, in extreme old age, on a charge of publishing improper books.

ily orchestra." Wells sate with me at the Hotel till bed ne.*

Friday, 2nd.—Moved into College, rooms having been kindly assigned me there. Summer, meeting; lecturer in the schools: called on Morfill. Dinner at Wadham, Crowder, Shields, and the resident Fellows. Much pressed to remain up for the Vacation.

Saturday, 3rd.—Lectured to a good audience. Afterwards a long talk with Mrs. Ross† and others, asking questions and showing intelligent interest.

Sunday, 4th.—Back to Jersey by "Dora" from Southampton: 288 passengers on board; sea rough.

Thursday, 15th.—Reviewed Trotter's "Dalhousie" for the *Academy*. It is sad and strange to look back on the days that are no more, when we were small figures in the back ground of a historic picture. T. is a bit of an enthusiast; no man could be such a consummate combination of hero and angel as his ideal Governor-General is made out.

Saturday, 17th.—Ad. Al. Dora, and self to theatre, to hear Brandram, who recited nearly the whole of "The Merchant of Venice," with much judicious variation of look and accent.‡

September, Saturday, 28th.—A letter from University Extension Office saying that the lady who is Secretary for the Brecon Committee had addressed him to the effect that they would not have my French Literature Lectures (for which I had been engaged). The Oxford Secretary, however, suggested that I should go to Brecon with my course on Indian History. I wrote thanking him for his courtesy but not closing with the suggestion.

October, Tuesday, 1st.—Reading H. W. Becher's Lectures ...h mingled feelings; amidst much of what one can hardly avoid calling cant he has wonderful flashes of sincerity. With an indolent public a popular preacher has to employ conventional phraseology as a medium of communication; but this man taught *Love*. His *English* is not impeccable; but a man of genius belonging to a foreign nation is surely not bound by all the academic rules of the old country; and there are every here and there in his discourses and writings words that would rouse the Philistine.

Asked by a lady if you could believe in the Founder without accepting the miraculous element, suggested that perhaps a pastor of the Becher type could do so by saying that, while he could not trust the narratives in detail, he felt sure that the Evangelists could not have invented the character.

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* J. Wells, M. A., Bursar of Wadham.

† Sister of T. C. Sandars.

‡ Samuel, B. (1824-92), educated at Trinity, Oxford; and called to the Bar, but became a public Reader.

Let us above all things learn to love more and more; love (if need be) without being loved, and to do good without asking for a reward. That seems the reasonable scheme: if you turn to the embraces of the world you are met by knife points. Live without stimulant; 'tis best for the soul's health.

Sunday, 6th.—A French friend proposes that Great Britain ("England" as he calls us) should call on all nations to disarm. I replied in the words of Alphonse Carr; "Que M. M. les Assassins Commencent!"

It is curious to trace the cause of the divergence between the national life of France and Britain the constituent elements of population being not very dissimilar. I would attribute it to the overwhelming influence of the Roman Empire on the continent, which here was entirely obliterated by the waves of Low Dutch and Scandinavian conquest that have poured over most parts of our Island, drawing in the Gaels and Cymry. Then of course the joining of our Third Estate by the minor baronage must have given it a strength which the corresponding class in France wanted. It seems certain that the ravages among the working people in the middle of the fourteenth century (due to the Black Death) were immediately followed by the entrance into the House of Commons of the Knights, and the combination of all employers, whether urban or rural, to keep down the wages of labour. It was a selfish motive; but of such is Progress.

Wednesday, 19th.—Reading history of Henry V. If his life and health had endured for another thirty years the House of Lancaster might have established itself in France, with England as a hostile annexe such as we have now in Ireland.

Saturday, 12th.—Reviewed Lady Login's book about Dulee Singh; showing some doubtful points in British action and the old moral of Sadi's story of the wolf-boy. Our treatment of him might not have been quite just; his repudiation of our power and religion was too violent a retort. His whole career was one of the tragedies of our time.

Tuesday, 15th.—In connection with my historic studies ran over the First Part of Henry VI, which one hopes has been incorrectly ascribed to Shakespeare. It looks as if that and other plays had been vamped up for stage uses, and his name used as that of a popular dramatist, when perhaps he had no more to do with the play than the Stage Manager. He might be consulted on certain points, might even have contributed a speech here and there to make a scene "go;" but the whole work cannot be his, unless his mind afterwards took on an unprecedented development.

Wednesday, 16th.—The fifteenth century was a terrible period; or say from about 1420 to 1520. The Society of

Western Europe was in a transition state: like a stripling of 18 it was conscious of new power yet swayed by mediæval traditions. It was the age of Malory, Caxton, Rabelais and Columbus; but also the age of Machiavel, Villon, Tiptoft, and Cesare Borgia. In England the outbreak of senseless slaughter was at variance with the national character and conduct at any other time. Of the houses of Lancaster, York, Beaufort, there was hardly one who was not brought to a premature end. Henry VI with his hereditary insanity* was hopelessly unfit to rule, or even to exist, in such a scene.

Thursday, 24th.—Conversation with a Bombay Chaplain who has given up orthodoxy, but is dependent on his position for bread for self and family. A hard case.

Tuesday, 29th.—Finished a study of Henry VIII, a bad man but a masterful statesman. Singular tenacity of parliamentary government under the Tudors.

[illegible]lanned an educational work on history of the House of [illegible]mmons.

November, Saturday, 2nd.—Accepted invitation to lecture at Brecon. Influences are not favourable; but it will give one an opportunity of seeing G.†

Tuesday, 4th.—Gnaist on the English Constitution shows deep research; but the pedantic hate of democracy must be discounted. He thinks our country on the eve of a great, and perhaps violent, Revolution because while "nights" are advancing "duties" recede.

Monday, 18th.—To Weymouth in a luxurious little boat, and summer weather. Changed at Westbury and Bristol, reaching Hereford at 9-15.

Tuesday, 19th.—Arrived at "The Castle," Brecon: received kindly by Mayor and Vicar; and lectured, to a large and indulgent audience, especially an old gentleman in the front row, who enjoyed a nice nap throughout. Was asked to come again and deliver my whole course (on Indian History) wrote report to the Oxford authorities before getting to bed.

Wednesday, 20th.—Visited the "Priory," a cruciform Church of the Decorated Period, one of the finest I ever saw. Some interesting old monuments. The Inn stands on the site of the old Castle where Bishop Morton was kept prisoner by Buckingham, *temp.* Ric. III. It was demolished during the Civil War by a clever municipality who argued that, so long as it was a place of strength, one party would certainly take possession and the other as certainly lay siege: by its destruction they hoped to keep out of the sphere of war; and they did.

* Was he really insane?—ED. *C. R.*

† Now Lt. G. N. S. Keene; then a pupil at Brecon College.

Friday, 22*nd*.—A day at Bristol, looking over the Church of S. Mary, Redcliffe, associated with the memory of Chatterton, and pronounced by Queen Elizabeth "the goodliest Parish Church in her dominions." Of late years £53,000 have been spent on repairs, besides the addition of several good stained windows. To Weymouth in the evening.

Saturday.—Bad crossing, landed at 10 A.M.

December, *Saturday*, 14*th*.—To London *vid* Southampton, for work at C. S. Exam. Put up at S. Bride's. Gas strike has collapsed, to general content: no sympathy expressed by people in third class railway carriage.

Wednesday, 18*th*.—After office went to tea at Saville, meeting Duffield, Grant Allen, and Clodd.

Haweis and H. Jones at the Vicarage; good dinner* and pleasant talk in the Library.

Thursday, 19*th*.—Afternoon at Deanery, Westminster. Examined cloisters, where Chapter-House is the original h[illegible] of the House of Commons: might hold 200. Met Mr. Wo[illegible] of Trinity and his accomplished wife.

Friday, 20*th*.—Went with H. to S. Philip's. Church nearly finished; a wonderful interior; Waterhouse *fecit*.

Saturday, 21*st*.—With H. to Mr. Haweis's at Chelsea; the Phonograph, a singular invention, of no practical value.

Sunday, 22*nd*.—Back at Jersey, Lord A. C. and other friends on board: calm but cold passage.

Thursday, 26*th*.—Borrowed Mr. F. Tennyson's poetry. As his illustrious brother told him, it "wants *technique*." He is older, I imagine, than the Laureate; and a believer in the occult.†

Tuesday, 31*st*.—No one sate up to welcome the New Year—the Traitor!

CHAPTER VIII.

1890.

During this year we left Jersey, and none of us has ever again set foot on the soil of that pleasant little land. Before leaving I sent a Farewell to the local paper; the opening stanzas being as follows:—

Farewell to Jersey! "Jewel of the main,"
Said Hugo—though I know not why he said it—
But, seeing that he wooed you all in vain,
His love was pure and greatly to his credit;
And, whether prompted by his heart or brain,
There is his ode to you, we all have read it:

* Rev. H. R. Haweis, the incumbent of S. James, Marylebone; author of "Music and Morals," etc.

† F. Tennyson survived his tuneful brethren; living and—I believe—dying in Jersey, where I knew him slightly.

Your love for him, indeed, was well dissembled
When all your sons with indignation trembled
Because he made remarks about the Queen,—
Or Pyat did and he must needs excuse it—
The Island's "loyal;" what the word may mean
I hardly know, but hope they do that use it,
It costs them nothihg: if a thing's not seen
Or felt, we still may keenly hate to lose it:
So (being an exile from the French dominions)
He went to Guernsey next, and stuck to his opinions;*
Yet sang of thee, fair Isle, thy granite boulders,
Thine ocean foaming to a stormy sky;
He called the sea and rocks "a pair of scolders,"—
A curious phrase—you think perhaps I try
To raise myself by getting on his shoulders;
No frog becomes an ox, and how could I?
But this I know, the Island kept a Poet,
(Like Day and Martin) and we are made to know it.

* * * *

[The rest was of more strictly local application.]

This year saw the fall of Parnell due to the decree of the Divorce Court (November 17) and the action of the non-conformist conscience exerted through that stern champion of righteousness, Mr. Gladstone. No immediate effect on British politics ensued: the "Unionists" continued in power under the Premiership of Lord Salisbury, but with what the old Tories regard with uneasiness as "Radical" tendencies. Indeed, it seemed to many that the whole programme of popular Government was now virtually realised and the rôle of the old Liberals played out. In that case the parties of the future would be wholly constructed.

Of the Channel Islands, in two of which I had now been a house-holder, I have spoken elsewhere—namely in the *Quarterly* and *English Historial Reviews;* and will only here observe that they are the only part of the empire in which, so far, the principle of compulsory military enrolment has been adopted. About one-tenth of the population is either under the colours or in the reserve.† Conversing with an Islander on this I expressed wonder at his countrymen submitting willingly to

* When driven from France by the *coup d'état* of 1852, Victor Hugo came to Jersey where some other malcontents also settled. One of these exiles, Felix Pyat, published some discourteous words on her Majesty Queen Victoria, for which he was sentenced to leave the Island: on which Hugo at once declared his solidarity with his brother exile, and had to share the sentence: he then settled at Hauteville, Guernsey, where I made his acquaintance in 1868.

† Corresponding to a Militia three or four million strong if the whole of the British Islands adopted the system.

the inconveniences of such a system, seeing that they were never likely to be called on to fight any one.

"C'est vrai," he answered; and then, as if recollecting something, added, "excepté tonjoun, les Français."

So strong indeed is the hereditary hatred of this practically French race for the country of their origin that to call a man a "Norman" in Jersy is a cause of action, for which damages have been given by the courts. "Tues Normand et fils de Normand" is the traditional form of the reproach.

January, Friday, 24th.—Finished Bryce's book on the United States ("American Commonwealth") and an excellent book I found it. One feels that he sees two dangers threatening our cousins; one, the "spoils" system, by which so many offices are distributed on party lines that the whole Civil Service must be dislocated ere it has had time to become efficient; the other the competition for voting power among the various states which has ended in giving citizenship to a crowd of foreigners who have hardly become naturalised.

Some of the ladies here are a caution; but

> His tenderness to women still must be
> The measure of the manliness in man.

Monday, 27th.—Read "The Princess;" a fine instance of workmanship surpassing matter; in that respect resembling "Paradise regained." The author stands far above all his contemporaries in point of Art:—

> Who, seeing all the problems of his time,
> Touched them with magic light, and made them seem
> Transparent, to the woman and the clown.

Thursday, 30th.—An interesting talk with the apostate Chaplain; a man who causes much compassion in one's mind. He says the local clergy will hardly return his salutation in the street.

> Such rancourous passion lives in heavenly minds.

February, Tuesday 4th.—Finished Fitzpatrick's book on Daniel O'Connell; a collection of the Liberator's letters with some biographic notes. D.'C. evidently sympathised with the sufferings of the misgoverned peasantry of Ireland, and foresaw the agrarian agitation of our day. But he loved peace and was a loyal subject; as true a Briton as Edmund Burke. His plan of Federal Union (sketched in 1844) is given in the Appendix to Vol. II, and it is a wise and thoughtful paper. If it could be carried out it might satisfy all reasonable Irish aspirations, while freeing the Imperial Parliament from troublesome members. It would not, however, win the support of professional politicians.

Thursday, 6th.—Heard on good authority that the Laureate

was "not an orthodox believer," though he shrank from writing anything to shock or unsettle.

Thusrday, 13*th*.—Called at Government House. The L.-G. told me something of the dispute between Sir W. Napier and the Court in Guernsey (1842) and showed me some of the papers. The hero was wrong-headed.

Friday, 14*th*.—Oxford Extension writes asking if one would lecture in the West of England for six months; had to say No, unless it was made remunerative.

Wednesday, 19*th*.—Finished *Syllabus* of Lectures on the House of Commons; there is a good deal of matter in it that has not been hithereto *focussed*; but people may say that—on such a subject—what has never been undertaken has never been required.

Tuesday, 25*th*.—Read J. A. Symonds on Shelley. He seems to agree with those who regard Genius as a form of epilepsy; or, at best, a hypertrophe of some organ at the expense of the rest. S. had the germ of great powers, which were, however, sacrificed to Idealism. Even as a Poet, he might have had more force if he had gone off on a less unprofitable path. He was not wholly wanting in objective skill and his language was often perfect; but his gaze was too constantly fixed on clouds and rainbows.

March, Tuesday, 4*th*.—Tennyson's new volume shows unwearied *verve* and skill. The shadow of the funereal cypress seems to lie on the work, brightening the remaining lights. The tone is thus rather solemn than sad.

Friday, 7*th*.—The C. S. Commission encloses for my information copy of a letter they have received respecting alleged incidents of the last exam. Adding that "they are quite aware how grossly misrepresented" such things are apt to be. Replied, pointing out how misconceptions may have arisen.

Tuesday, 11*th*.—Read the last of Gouverneur Morris, a most interesting man; born when Yankees were still British subjects and having a brother in the Royal Service, he was a good sample of the old aristocratic colonists who resisted the King as Manchester and Fairfax, Pym and Hampden did a century-and-a-half earlier. A little fussy about matters that did not much concern him, and not free from fatuity in his relations with women; above all strongly opposed to democratic claims. He informs us that his colleague A. Hamilton was distinctly in favour of a monarchy. But the people of the United States took the settlement of that question into their own hands. M. saw the difficulty of having a monarchy that should be at once efficient and popular; but the people there can always secure the advantages of a temporary despotism or dictatorship, as they did, towards the close of the Civil War, in the case of Mr. Lincoln.

Wednesday, 12th.—The Commissioners acknowledge my note of the 7th and express themselves satisfied that I "had been entirely misrepresented."

Tuesday, 18th.—Passed an afternoon hour with Miss L., a bright old maiden lady, who practises music, painting, and letters; she is rather enthusiastic than accurate: attributed a saying of Plato to Lessing yet had never heard of the latter's book "Laokoön."

Finished Mrs. Marshall's "Life and Letters of M. W. Shelley" —not ill edited though a little incomplete. Mary was a genial female creature who did one indiscreet thing at sixteen and suffered for it forty years. Her almost unbroken penance was caused or deepened, by the universal misconduct of her male friends, from her Micawber of a father to her incalculable Ariel. The son seems to have done his best towards the end; but the story is most sad.

Sunday, 23rd.—Came over by Southampton yesterday. To-day dined and slept at S. Bride's. This bit of the City very quiet, and thanks to the embankment—very airy. House well-planned, by Mr. Champneys.

Monday, 24th.—At office: the young men will not study my subject, yet are indignant if not allotted good marks.* Went to stay with the V.'s at S. Philip's.

Wednesday, 26th.—With Mrs. V. to Tudor Exhibition; fine portraits by Holbein. Great folks in those days blond, even to the Spaniards: the type seems dying out.

Sunday, 30th.—To church at S. Philip's: noble interior. A curate occupying the pulpit, Mrs. V. came out: and I judged it allowable to imitate the Vicaress. We found an old man looking at the unfinished building; who, to Mrs. V.'s invitation to come in and see the inside, answered, "No, I thankye Ma'am: they're all going over to Rome." He added the information that he had seen the first stone laid of the previous church, which V. has entirely demolished to make room for the present building: this was in 1818; and he said that the ceremony was performed by the then Duke of York (F. M. the Bishop of Osnaburgh).

In the afternoon with Mrs. Ross and hostess to see the pictures at S. Jude's; a good show intelligently observed by a number of working people.† At night to S. Bride's Archd. Sinclair gave an excellent practical sermon.

April, Good Friday, 4th.—Played billiards at Athenaeum; Herbert Spencer, P. Calderon, R. A. and others. To S. Bride's

* The subject was Indian History and Geography; it has since been expunged from the curriculum.

† Mrs. Ross, a clever lady, widow of V.'s predecessor and sister of my friend Sandars. S. Jude's under Rev. Mr. Barnett.

the evening; sermon by Archd. Cheetham who afterwards ame to dinner. I was reminded of Goethe as I sate between ie two "Prophets."*

Sunday, 6th.—With A. to call on the Calderons, in his nice apartments at Burlington House. He showed us his new painting—a fine glow of colour.

Wednesday, 9th.—Working at a short notice of my great grandfather for *Dict. N. Biog.* Can't get much information yet.

Sunday, 13th.—Got home after a rough passage, 9 A. M.

Saturday, 19th.—Played billiards at Club with Captain N. A medley of a man, full of ideas but with the credulous simplicity so often met in seamen. He expressed a firm belief in ghosts, and also in the Israelitish origin of the English race.

May, Thursday, 1st.—A silly article on India by F. P in *N. R.* It seems impossible for any one who has not been there to take a sane view of the subject.

Friday, 2nd.—Finished "Correspondence of Lord Grey and Mme. de Lieven:" they were a curiously-assorted pair. The lady may have been a sort of intriguer, the gentleman high-bred but probably not difficult to hoodwink and deceive. On the whole she does not seem to have had so much the advantage; but in the end Russia got the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and we had no Ambassador at St. Petersburgh for some two years; a small economy which did the Russians no harm.

Thursday, 8th.—Lovely weather; garden forward. *White* predominating; apple, pear, hawthorn, lilac (though of course all with pink variations) strawberry, pease, guelder-rose add to the pure brightness; there is even a white magnolia.

Tuesday, 13th.—To Lady O.'s box at Theatre to see a play of the Fenian order, much relished by the audience of this "loyal" Island. It must be annoying to Irish malcontents to find that their very rebllions cannot be taken seriously.

(*June*) After the usual trouble, inventories, packing, etc., we moved from Jersey, where we have been kindly treated and have made many friends, French, English, and Islanders. We settled at Upper Norwood, and found more amusement, but a far less agreeable climate. London was within a shilling fare; and we all enjoyed the music, etc., at the Crystal Palace where also I found a Library of Reference and a Club with pleasant company and good billiard-tables. London was as usual delightful in June, the season at its height and weather delightful. Before settling I spent ten days in the

* With Lavater on one hand and Basedon on the other, he said—"Propheten rechts, Propheten links; der Weltkind indem Mittel."

Isle of Wight, in repose, with nothing worthy of record except meeting a lady whom I had not seen since she was a gracious hostess in Mauritius forty-two years before. Among some pictures which a Jew was trying to sell at Ryde (under pretence of an Exhibition) I saw a curious attempt at comic *genre* by poor Haydon: the subject a sort of disturbance in a Debtor's Prison, with the title "Chairing the Member:" I never heard of it again, and suppose it was hardly worth a place in the National Gallery, where they have better work of the same kind by Wilkie. I also saw something of Miss Genevieve Ward and her very agreeable brother who were staying at Shanklin.

July, *Tuesday* 1*st*.—Heard that B. S. had been asked to write an account of the services of Civil Officers in India during the Great Revolt. As I had already published a rather full history of the events I thought my informant—Col. Malleson—must be mistaken. Met Lord S. in Regent Street, who asked if I should be disengaged in September ("not for shooting").*

Sunday, 6*th*.—A wet week, ended with slight improvement. To S. Bride's for Church: 2nd London Rifles attended service with their Band, a noisy form of worship. Good practical sermon by the Vicar, with whom I lunched. Finished the day among old friends at Ealing.

Tuesday, 8*th*.—Authors' dinner at Criterion.†

Wednesday, 9*th*.—Pleasant afternoon at Saville, with Forrest, Duffield, Besant, E. Balfour, etc.

Sunday, 13*th*.—To afternoon Church at S. Philip's. Good sermon, by Harry Jones, on the Character of Saul. Supper at Vicarage.

Tuesday, 15*th*.—Some of the family went to the Palace where the Salvationists were to spend a happy day. Old Booth gave a discourse, which they liked very much.

Friday, 18*th*.—Called on Sir T. W. Trelyan, Lords T. and S., and Mr. Dudley Field ‡. The whole week at *vivâ-voce* work.

Friday, 25*th*.—A little work at Office. The Oxford Extension asked me to have my lectures (French Literature) printed

* My book—"Fifty-Seven"—was published (W. H. Allen & Co.) in 1883 Mr. Sapte's undertaking turned out to have reference to a composite work on the E. I. College, Haileybury, edited by my old Oxford employer and friend, Sir M. Monier Williams.

† No record of the Chairman: could it have been J. R. Lowell? It was at one of these meetings that I heard him compare London's ceaseless roar to the "loom of time" in Faust.

‡ F., D. D. born 1805 (Conn. U. S.) Jurist, and author of New York Penal Code. Brother of Mr. Cyrus Field: *d*. April 13th, 1894. Had been our guest at Agra. Librarian to the Queen at Windsor Castle.

Murray's Series, to be edited by Prof Knight of S. Andrew's.

Monday, 28th.—More *v. v.* work, and spent afternoon at Athenaeum with Sir W. Morgan, Sir R. T., Col. S., Mr. R. Holmes and Lord A. Churchill.

August Monday, 4th.—Club closed, for annual decoration and repair; we are guests at the United Service ("senior.") Great heat of weather.

Thursday, 14th.—A letter from Lord R. kindly enclosing introduction to "Central Liberal" Office, 42, Parliament Street, which being delivered led to enquiries whether one would go to Cheltenham and snooze the constitnency in view to the next general election. As the constituency in question must be much influenced by retired officers and the tradesmen with whom they deal, and as such influences must be anti-liberal, I do not think that the undertaking would be one of much promise. Visited Mr. C. Bendall at British Museum, who was most courteous; but the information that I want does not seem likely to be forthcoming: it is in connection with work for *Dict. of Nat. Biography.*

Concluded arrangements for printing historical educational works in India.*

Sunday 17th.—Took one of my daughters to Miss Lowe's.† They seemed mutually pleased. Met Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay. ‡

Wednesday, 20th.—With A. H. to Bond Street to a sale of effects belonging to a well-known fast man-upon-town, at Messrs. Robinson and Fisher's. A dense crowd. The man had been known as "The Jubilee Plunger."

Friday, 22nd.—Planned my series: the *second* book to be done first; then the *first*, or Primer, as a sort of epitome No. 3 to be more in the way of a series of essays based on my Extension Lectures, in which whatever is of permanent value may be extricated from the accepted congeries of battle, murder, and sudden death which fills the greater part of the structure of Oriental chronicles. By "permanent value" is to be understood all that conduces to the central subject, which is no less than the progress of a vast and varied group of States and races towards a homogeneous whole.

Sunday, 24th.—Walking to see a friend at Lewisham, encountered a tempest of lighting and rain such as I never remember in this country: reminding one of an Indian

* This was a series of short treatises for the use of Indian Schools published at Allahabad between 1892 and 1896, the proofs being kindly read by Mr. Harris Keene of the Finance Department.

† Editor of *The Queen* newspaper.

‡ Widow of an American Diplomatist; a charming lady, well known in London Society.

monsoon storm. Such disturbances are, of course, not known in the British Islands : witness the fine description Thomson's "Seasons" (*Autumn*) beginning—

"At first the groves are scarcely seen to stir."

Thomson is original in the eighteenth century, when no writer was expected to describe physical phenomena from first-hand observation.

Thursday, 28th.—Some of the family went to the Palace at 7·45, to see Messrs. Brock's fireworks. A quarter of an hour later C. came, to go with them (by appointment) at 8. It seems hard for ladies to be punctual : one or other here must have been wrong ; and the result was that in the crowded grounds they never met.

September, Sunday, 14th.—Finished "French Manual," and put it together to be posted to Murray's.* Letter from Leitner, to ask one to be "Member of Central Committee" of International Oriental Congress, which I respectfully declined. †

Monday, 22nd.—Some one saying that it was difficult to account for the very great popularity of Irving, seeing that he was by no means an actor as to whom there could be but one opinion, it was answered that there was something Miss-Terry-ous about the matter.

Wednesday, 24th.—To Palace to hear Mr. Malden lecture on "Shakespeare's religion." It was very well done ; and one quite understood that W. S. had to please his public rather than to express himself.‡ Many of the persons who attended his Theatre were somewhat indifferent to things of the spirit, and had been brought up as Catholics or in Catholic traditions. Indeed the Lecturer gave reasons for believing that the poet's parents had been of the old creed, while his daughter, Mrs. Hall, was a notorious Puritan. So that the whole story is a typical illustration of a great crisis in the nation's life ; a transition-period in which the poet may have faced both ways.

Saturday, 27th.—Went in a hot afternoon to the Palace with two of the girls to hear M. de L. give a lecture (in the French language) on the literary aspects of the reign of terror. Having already worked at this I did not find him very instructive ; though he spoke well.

Sunday, 28th.—Afternoon at Athenæum. Herbert Spencer said he considered Ruskin's reputation a disgrace to our age. Recalled Morison's phrase who once called R. an "arrogant

* "The Literature of France" (Univ. Extens. Series) London, 1892.

† Leitner, G. W. An able linguist, and founder of a Home for Oriental visitors at Woking. *d.* 1899.

‡ That may, and yet *puery*. We could say much on the subject, but it would run on to a dissertation.—ED., *C. R.*

apon." And I believe that Parisian critics think he has done irreparable injury to our national Art. I do not, however, see how this can very well apply to a gorgeous phrase-maker who has never laid down any consistent set of art-principles. He praised Turner for dwelling on the focal point of his landscapes, and he praised the Prae-Raphaelites for bestowing equal care on all their foreground details. Now, which did he mean to inculcate ?

Since the above hasty remarks were penned the seal of death has been put on this remarkable man's reputation ; and we have learned that he belonged to a class of which Count Leo Tolstoi is the living type. Men, that is to say, who influence mankind by a *prestige* of superiority rather than by any direct didactic method.

Tuesday, 30*th*.—To Charter-House, where the Rev. H. V. L. showed me over the old place : the remains of the Priory, the house where the Duke of Norfolk was betrayed in 1571, the still courts where the noise of Holborn and of Smithfield hardly penetrates, and where the old "cods" stroll about in their long black gowns. In the chapel lies the effigy of Sutton, the prosperous trader, under a painted and gilded canopy ; memorable to posterity for his munificent benevolence. Was pleased to see Madison Morton. *

October, Saturday.—Asked to enlarge "French Manual." Kind offer of help from J. W. S.

Thursday, 16*th*.—Read Mr. Holmes on Indian Mutiny; the book shows good judgment and impartiality. Never says anything for the mere sake of saying it.

Wednesday, 22*nd*.—Correspondence with Hunter about a volume for his "Rulers of India" series. †

Monday, 27*th*.—Full moon, sudden fall of temperature (said to have been 14° of frost). What a climate !

November, Saturday 1*st*.—With M. de L. to Garnier's show, Cockspur Street. Illustrations of *Rabelais* ; rather what is called "Realist."‡

Saturday, 8*th*.—A large gathering in smoke room at the Saville ; Poole (S. L.) Clodd, Brookfield (C.) Hawkins, etc. Very enjoyable afternoon.

Monday, 17*th*.—Afternoon at Saville : E. H. told a curious stroy of the late Sir F. Pollock. § Being himself the real author of the saying attributed to Sydney Smith (about caressing a tortoise being like stroking the dome of S. Paul's to please the Dean L. Chapter), he asked Lady Holland if

* Author of "Box and Cox," which brought him £7,000, first and last. Became a "poor brother" in 1881, and died ten years later.

† "Madhava Rao Sindhia," Third Thousand, 1892.

‡ This Exhibition, afterwards closed by the Police, led to the usual sneers at our national hypocrisy.

§ P., Sir W. F., a Master of the High Court ; *d*. 1888.

she meant to quote it as her father's in the *Biography* she was writing? On her answering that she certainly meant to do so, he asked "Did your father say it?" "Oh! indeed he did," she answered; "for I have *seen the tortoise.*"

Wednesday, 19th.—Casting about for materials for my little monograph for Hunter I came upon a book in the India Office Library called "The House of Scindia." It was the work of an uneducated man of the name of Hope, and proves to have been written for the purpose of vilifying the British Government. It gives, however, some curious facts about later members of the dynasty, especially in connection with Lord Ellenborough.

Thursday, 27th.—A fall of snow; early season.

Friday, 28th.—Heavy snow.

Sunday, 30th.—Sunday lecture in Langham Place: Lyall; very thoughtful and well-delivered. Made him and Clodd known to each other, and went to C.'s to dine and sleep, meeting Wm. Simpson,* and Prof. Hughes, F. R. S.

December, Tuesday, 2nd.—Met Sir W. Hunter at Athenæum and conferred with him about monograph on *Sindhia.*

Monday, 8th.—Cold less severe than a fortnight ago. A goodish deal of discussion, with Clodd and others, of late, arising out of Weisman's very symmetric and plausible theory.† The result of W.'s distinction between germ-cell and body-cell is a curious analogy with certain primitive systems of law—*e.g.*, that of the Hindus—according to the theory in question, ancestral property ought to be permanent and continuous; that which the head of the family may, from time to time, acquire being the only possession which is free and not subject to rules of succession. This, in some sort, corresponds to Weisman's "conception" of the non-heritability of acquired qualities. But the analogy may turn against him in his way. B. inherits A.'s ancestral estate but makes additions and improvements out of monies earned in the practice of a profession: when his heir comes into possession the property—though dealt with as ancestral still—is evidently not exactly *the same* that was held as such by A. and so on through the Alphabet. Similarly, the continuity of the germinal essence does not involve its complete identity. It is argued, indeed, that the influences of function and environment affect the individual alone, and not the species. But if so, how can we account for the extreme degeneration of so many animal and vegetable races in certain climates? A

* Mr. Simpson, R. I. Artist and correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* d. 1899.

† Mr. Clodd contributed an article on the subject to the recent edition of *Chamber's Encyclopædia.*

Hindu friend once laid his hand on my arm as an omnibus was halted opposite to us in the Bayswater Road; crying, "why, Sir, in this country the very horses are civilised." If, again, dogs all rose from some primal type, such as the jackal, whence the difference between the sky-terrier and the *paria* of the Indian village-street: or why, among European canines, does the pointer learn to stop short at his game while the greyhound rushes on it with open mouth?

Wednesday, 10th.—Reading "Childe Harold" attentively, found the same affectation and insincerity by which so much of Byron's best work is weakened; added to bad workmanship in too many places. Yet there is no little of manly eloquence, however lacking in continuity; and a conviction grows upon one that the author was better than he took himself to be, better even than he wished to be taken for by others. And the poem does not *dwindle*, on the contrary grows in strength and beauty to the end. To say nothing of the hackneyed and perhaps sometimes over-estimated stanzas on the ocean, the better Byron appears in the passage on Princess Charlotte, and in the whole tone of the Fourth Canto. In point, however, of mere workmanship there is nothing in any of "Childe Harold" to be compared with the "Vision of Judgment."

Friday, 12th.—Cold, frosty weather. Reviewed Malleson's volume on the Indian Mutiny, pointing out its merits which are great—and gliding lightly over faults. This is a grand object, surely, of criticism. A man does not undertake a big book out of merely selfish motives, and ought not to be treated as a malefactor.

Sunday, 14th.—Went in a day of intense cold to dine and sleep at York House, Twickenham, at present the property of Sir M. E Grant Duff, whose guest I was,*

A fine old house on the bank of the Thames, once the residence of the great Lord Clarendon, whose grand-daughter—the future Queen Anne—was born there.

The host most kind and interesting. In the morning took a pencil-copy of the portrait of the great Madhava, or Madhaji, Sindhia, whose story I am telling in the Oxford series of which Hunter is editor.

Thursday, 18th.—Cold continues. At office all the forenoon; lunched at Athenæum, then back to *viva voce* work, and home by 7 P.M.

Reading Lowell's Critical Essays lately have been much struck with his good sense and witty language. Of Ruskin the writer says that he undertakes for general principles what are nothing but his own fluctuating impulses: certainly—

* G.-D., Sir Mount Stuart, sometime Governor of Madras.

except in his mastery of English—Ruskin has little in common with Lowell; and one fears that, if the former be more of a popular favourite, the advantage is due to anything but superior merit. My people love to have it so—*Populus vult decipi.*

And so the year ended, in early, almost polar, winter; all the more depressing after Jersey: but the constant feeling that London was close by made a compensating stimulus: and, altogether, things might be a good deal worse.*

(*To be continued.*)

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* [True; but we don't agree with you about Ruskin (among other things.)]—Ed., *C. R.*

ART. XI.—HERBERT SPENCER'S PHILOSOPHY.*

"LET us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us" is the admonition addressed year by year to the members of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the day appointed for the annual commemoration of the benefactors of the College. And, now that old age and ill-health have forced Mr. Spencer to rest from his life-long labours, and the din of the controversies provoked by his system has almost entirely subsided, the time seems to be opportune for trying to form an estimate (however imperfect) of his services to enlightenment and of the debt of gratitude we owe him. Let us then recall to mind some few of the leading ideas begotten or fathered by this famous thinker, and see if they do not help us to reconcile what seemed utterly irreconcileable contradictions, and to clear the mind of a host of confused ideas, idols of the cave, of the tribe, of the marketplace and of the temple.

It will naturally be objected that Mr. Spencer's ideas have occupied the attention and taxed the capacity of the deepest thinkers of the last half century,—of men like Mill, Mansel, Martineau, Calderwood, Sidgwick, Huxley and Tyndall. What can a mere amateur have to say worth hearing? Here is a nimble essayist rushing in where experts fear to tread. The answer is that the subject is one which concerns the general reader as much as the expert, and that he must form some opinion on it with such intelligence as has been vouchsafed him, unless he renounces all thought about it. His opinion is probably not worth much, but here it is for what it is worth.

In his "First Principles" Mr. Spencer demarcates the boundary between the Unknowable and the Knowable, the respective provinces of Religion and of Science. "We are compelled," he says, "to regard every phenomenon as a manifestation of some Power by which we are acted upon; though Omnipresence is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bouuds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of limits to the presence of this Power while the criticisms of Science teach us that this Power is Incomprehensible. And this consciousness of an Incomprehensible Power, called Omnipresent from inability to assign its limits, is just the consciousness on which Religion dwells." Again, "Though the Absolute cannot in any manner or degree be

* A System of Synthetic Philosophy, 10 Volumes, 1860 to 1893. By Herbert Spencer.

known, in any strict sense of knowing, yet we find that its positive existence is a necessary datum of consciousness, that, so long as consciousness continues, we cannot for an instant rid it of this datum; and that thus the belief which this datum constitutes, has a higher warrant than any other whatever." The purely physical conceptions of Matter, Motion and Force, involve the assumption of this inscrutable Power just as much as the metaphysical conceptions of the Absolute, the Infinite and the First Cause. Thus then Religion and Science are at one in affirming the existence of an Omnipresent Power manifesting itself in the phenomena of the universe, but are at issue as to the nature of this Power. They agree in saying *that* it is, but differ as to *what* it is.

It cannot of course be said that this idea was an altogether new one at the time Mr. Spencer put it forward. J. S. Mill, one of the best informed and, in consequence, also one of the most candid champions of Science, had admitted that we invariably encounter an inscrutable mystery when we touch on ultimate facts. And similarly many of the better informed and more candid adherents to the opposite camp, *viz.*, the theologians known as "Broad," freely admitted the existence of a considerable amount of truth in the teachings of Science. In fact we may look back for many centuries and still find similar reciprocal admissions made by men of science and by theologians. Thus the great astronomer Omar Khayy-am wrote in the 11th century A. D.

> "What launched that golden orb his course to run,
> What wrecks his firm foundations when 'tis done,
> No man of science ever weighed with scales,
> Or made assaye with touchstone, —no, not one."

And Laplace, the author of the Nebular Hypothesis, by postulating nebulous matter and an impelling force to start with, practically admitted that the source of matter and force was an inexplicable mystery. Similarly the *catena* of theologians' opinions given by Dean Mansel at the beginning of his "Bampton Lectures" proves that many of the ablest divines have not hesitated to admit that the real nature and essence of the Supreme Power is beyond human comprehension, and that men's notions regarding it, from the nature of the case, can never be more than approximations to the truth. But while it cannot be said that Mr. Spencer's contribution to the discussion is entirely novel, on the other hand it cannot be denied that he set forth his views with a degree of precision and definiteness never attained before, and enforced them with a weight of demonstration rarely equalled.

To the extreme men on either side Mr. Spencer's *eirenikon* was of course unacceptable. When a man has taken a line

nd is flogging the other side with all his might, he is not pleased to be told to hold his hand and ask himself if all the truth is on his side and none on the other. To the man of science, who was nothing if not "positive," it was not pleasant to be told that he must reconsider his position, and that there were problems beyond the reach of microscope and scalpel, telescope and test tube. If a mere nursling of the outworn creeds had said this, it would have been of no account whatever, but to be told so by a man of Mr. Spencer's scientific repute was serious indeed. The effect of the message was of course not at once evident. But all who can recall the general tone and drift of scientific writings and current conversation on this subject in the sixties must recognise the marked change that has taken place. Science has, in a measure, now come to recognise the necessary limits of scientific thought. Even amongst the less cultured scientists we do not now-a-days encounter such crude and crass materialism as that formulated by Buchner, for instance, in his "Matter and Force." Has not some little advance been made towards the realization of Tennyson's ideal?

> "Let science grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell,
> That mind and heart according well
> May make one music as before,
> But vaster."

In like manner when we turn to the theologians we do not find the same imperviousnes to demonstrations, the same unqualified *non-possumus* attitude towards science which distinguished them, as a body, in the sixties.* Secure in their main position, and assured that it has rational warranty profounder than was before imagined, the more enlightened of them have come to see that science is not so entirely a damnable error as many supposed it forty years ago. They have out-grown the primitive state of mind which found expressions in documents like poor old Pio Nono's "Syllabus." Many pronouncements of leading theologians, for instance the "Lux Mundi" of Canon Gore, give one the impression that "Colenso" and "Essays and Reviews" would now pass almost unchallenged.†

In one respect Mr. Spencer has added strength to the theological position. Dean Mansel, the great theological protagonist of the last half-century, declared that the existence of the Absolute was matter of faith, and was not demonstrable. Mr. Spencer on the other hand has shown that its existence

* We remember well the sirties, and went into both sides of the controversy, and can only say that it was the bare-faced and illogical assumption of the scientists of the day that led "theologians" to assume, and rightly, the attitude described above.—ED.

† We doubt it, we are neither "Broad," nor "Latitudinarian."—ED.

is a necessary *datum* of consciousness, of which we cannot rid ourselves while consciousness lasts, and that consequently our belief in its existence has a higher warranty and rational basis than any other belief whatever. The great truth for which Religion has been battling throughout past ages, the existence of the Omnipresent Power whereby we live and move and have our being, manifesting itself alike in the phenomena of the external universe and in the mind of man,—this great truth is established not merely by the authority of a particular religious tradition but also by the most searching analysis that can be made of the processes and the products of human consciousness, and is found to be necessarily implied in the highest notions Science has formed of the physical constitution of the universe. The motto inscribed by the Egyptian priests on the temple of Osiris, "I am that which was and that is and that shall be, and my veil no man hath lifted up," may be equally applied to the Power affirmed by Mr. Spencer. Its veil no man has lifted up. The highest conceptions men can form of its real nature can never be more than faint approximations to the real truth. They are only "symbolical," or to use Mansel's expression, only "representative" truths. But as Mr. Spencer points out, the symbols in use at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time and are thus relatively good if not absolutely so. Symbols we cannot do without, but it is more consonant alike with reverence and with reason to recognise their inadequacy, than to pretend that they are absolutely correct representations of the real nature of the Supreme Power.

Coming to the domain of the Knowable, Mr. Spencer enumerates those widest generalizations which hold good in every science alike, and which constitute the proper subject-matter of Philosophy, now that it has abandoned its old pretension to knowledge of absolute being. (*Ding an Sich.*) Perhaps the most important is the law of the Conservation or Persistence of force. The law that the quantum of force manifested in the phenomena of the Universe is, a definite and constant quantity, a quantity which, however, transformed from moment to moment, ever remains unaltered in amount and which is never, so far as experience shows, either increased or diminished by supernatural addition to or subtraction from its fixed amount. The principles of the Indestructibility of Matter and of the Uniformity of Law are both necessary deductions from this fundamental law, and it is the indispensible postulate of all co-ordinated knowledge or Science. For, unless like antecedents are invariably found to be followed by like consequences, and similar effects followed like causes, all prevision whether quantitative or qualitative,

the course of Nature is obviously impossible. If the course of Nature is not orderly but erratic and liable every moment to unforseen interruptions from without, Science is a chimæra and Nescience the only possibility.*

These ideas are so diametrically opposed to the ideas and sentiments entertained by most religious persons respecting the action of the Supreme Power upon the universe, that no surprise can be felt at the passionate resistance made to them. They can argue with apparent cogency that if the nature of the Power wherein the universe originated and whereby it is sustained, is so utterly unknown as Mr. Spencer affirms it to be, he is not warranted in setting bounds to its possible manifestations. The Uniformity of Law is, after all, nothing more than a generalization from experience necessarily limited and partial, and cannot be taken to be absolutely certain so long as the main factor in the problem, *viz.*, the nature of the Ultimate Power remains unknown and inscrutable. To this, Science can only reply that experience is the sole trustworthy guide, that it finds the invariable course of Nature to be uniform, and that all the alleged exceptions to this uniformity are unproved by adequate evidence. This of course will be vehemently denied, and so the great debate will go on probably for ages to come. The idea of Nature "fixed fast in fate" must always continue to be repugnant to the more emotional sections of humanity. Thus we find Schiller and Coleridge bewailing the decadence of "the fair humanities of old religion!" the Naiads and Dryads and the like, and Wordsworth, like the Jews who craved for a sign, exclaiming,—

> "Great God, I'd rather be
> A Pagan nourished on a creed outworn,
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn."

But on the other hand it must be confessed that there is nothing derogatory to the Supreme Power in the supposition that it may have imposed limits† on its own action, and that the course of the universe is ordered according to a regular and invariable process undisturbed by fitful and irregular‡ interruptions.

At this stage we come upon what is the cardinal principle of Mr. Spencer's system, *viz.*, the great hypothesis of Evolution. Seeing that this hypothesis is contested by eminent biologists like Virchow, it is only seemly that the words of a mere sciolist

* It may be so; and yet Science has not found the last word in regard to "ever" and "never."—ED.

† The "limits" are consistent with universal and eternal action, but are these known to us?—ED.

‡ "Fitful and irregular" are mere assumptions.—ED.

on this question should be wary and few. But perhaps thi much may be said without undue presumption that, just as in times past tentative and imperfect hypothesis, as for instance the hypothesis that the planets moved in perfectly circular orbits, are now seen to have been real advances towards the truth, there are grounds for thinking that the hypothesis of Evolution may turn out to be a similar forward step. No one who has read Mr. Spencer's volumes on Biology, Psychology and Sociology with adequate attention, can deny that this hypothesis serves to group, colligate and co-ordinate the multitudinous masses of facts on an intelligible principle, and to offer an explanation, always plausible if not always convincing, of their mutual relations. His work undoubtedly brings us a step nearer to seeing things as they really are. "Get to see things as they really are." This is just what that laughing philosopher, Matthew Arnold, and his young friend Arminius used to advise us to do in the sixties. "Put yourself at the centre of things and mark the direction in which things are going." Excellent advice if only we had been told how to set about it. Now Mr. Spencer has shown us how to set about it. With untiring industry and marvellous acumen he has examined the results obtained by numberless specialists, results of the wider bearing of which some of them had only a faint apprehension, and has shown how life does advance from the protoplasmic cell up to the most complex organisms, subhuman and human, how consciousness advances *pari passu* with increasing complexity of nervous structure from its roots in mere reflex action up to that manifested in men of the highest mental powers, and finally how the primitive man rises step by step to the condition attained by the most civilised peoples of the present time. Whether the whole of this marvellous process is accounted for, as he thinks, by the pressure and discipline of external circumstances, and the enforced adaptation of internal structures and functions to the environing conditions may be questioned by some, but the main fact that life has advanced in this order can hardly be denied by any candid reader. His work certainly shows how things *have* gone, and gives us a reliable clue as to the direction in which they are now going.

Take for instance the law of population, that hard law of Nature which shrieks against the popular creeds. Amiable enthusiasts tell us that this so-called law is a pestilent delusion. They dispose of the unpleasant facts by the short and summary method of commination after the example of the man who d—d the North Pole. This is not Mr. Spencer's way of dealing with the problem. He takes a comprehensive and exhaustive survey of the phenomena of life from the first physio-

ogical unit up to the highest sub-human and human types, and lets the facts themselves tell of the constant struggle for existence through pressure of numbers and means of subsistance. And he shows how this very pressure was and is an indispensable condition precedent to advance and how in default of it mankind could never have emerged from the savage state. But his connected series of the facts brings out very clearly a hitherto unnoticed concomitant of the advance to higher types, *viz.*, that as the type rises its fertility diminishes. In the lowest organisms the fertility is enormous in proportion to the number of the progeny arriving at maturity. The mortality amongst the offspring of these lowest organisms is so excessive that the species would die out, were not a superabundance of offspring generated to counterbalance the excessive mortality amongst it. But as the type of organism rises the rate of fertility diminishes. And the presumption is, that this diminution of fertility will continue to progress concomitantly with the advancing evolution of humanity*. From the observed tendency of things in the past Mr. Spencer deduces a rational inference as to their tendency in the future. So long as the fires are kept up the steam generated will continue to expand and press more and more on the boiler, but in course of time a new safety valve or preventive check, over and beyond the present safety valves, may be expected to develop itself and help to avert the threatened explosion.

This progressive decrease of fertility is only one example of those marvellous adaptations of organisms to the external conditions in which they live which present themselves at every stage of vital processes. When we descend to the underlying strata of inorganic matter†, we encounter phenomena like chemical affinities and we see broken crystals immersed in appropriate solutions reforming their angles with mathematical exactness. And when we ascend to living organisms and mark how inorganic compounds are combined and recombined into colloid and other more complex compounds till we arrive at cells or physiological units. When further we come upon such marvellous adaptations of organisms to their environment as that, for instance, known as "organic polarity," by which the living organism is enabled to appropriate matter from the environment and mould it into its own form. When finally we see the faint reflex actions of the protozoa rising step by step with the advance of nervous structure to the consciousness of sub-human

* The gradation of types is one thing; and the "evolution of humanity" another. The latter has not been proved since the existence of Abraham, Pharoah, Euclid and Plato.—ED.

† But these affinities are sure, true and unalterable, which rather cuts against the theory.—ED.

and the developed intelligence of human beings, can we accept the hypothesis that it has all come about without design and intelligent direction? Mr. Spencer admits that the Supreme Power manifests itself in the mind, and can it be supposed that a Power thus manifesting itself, is devoid of mind? Our inability to frame adequate conceptions of that mind no more disproves its existence than our similar inability to conceive the Power itself disproves the existence of that Power. Mr. Spencer tries hard to state the facts in such terms as avoid teleological implications, but with all deference it may be questioned whether he has always succeeded. He constantly points out how this or that adjustment does subserve particular ends, such as maintenance of the individual or the race. And as constantly the reader asks himself whether it is conceivable that all this subservience of adjustments to results can possibly have come about without design?

Fifty years ago many positive philosophers asserted that Psychology was not a separate science at all but merely a branch of Biology. Feelings, volitions and cognitions were regarded by them as mere functions or secretions of the nervous tructures, to be studied by the same methods as were used in studying the other vital phenomena, and by no other methods whatever. Mr. Spencer has destroyed this idol of the scientist cave. He has restored Psychology to the rank of a separate science and vindicated the employment of subjective analysis not to the exclusion of objective analysis and observation, but in conjunction therewith. He guides us through all the main problems of this difficult science pointing out at every stage the soul of truth in errors, and the harmonies of apparent discords. He traces consciousness up from its obscure roots and proves by overwhelming evidence that every advance in it, is accompanied by a parallel advance in the complexity of the nervous structures, and that lesions or total destructions of these structures invariably entail partial or total loss of the concomitant consciousness. But, it will be asked, does not this concede the whole position of Materialism? Is not this the very answer which the poet got when he questioned Nature,—

> "The spirit does but mean the breath,
> I know no more?"

By no means. Mr. Spencer goes on to show that Mind is at bottom, another manifestation of that inscrutable omnipresent Power immanent in all phenomena. The Materialist in asserting that Mind is never found apart from physical structures, is asserting a fact of universal experience, but when he goes on to assert that no other factor is to be traced in Mind over and beyond these tangible and visible

material phenomena, this latter assertion is at once baseless and self-destructive. In one department of enquiry he is denying the existence of that datum which he is forced to postulate in the other department.

When two different series of phenomena are found to vary concomitantly, as, for instance, the height of the mercury in a barometer varies with the weight of the atmosphere, the one set of variations may be legitimately used to measure the other set of variations, but it is not legitimate to infer that the former set of phenomena are the causes of the latter set.

The consensus of humanity, registered and evidenced by language, has condemned the Materialist view of Mind. The words *Atman*, *Psyche*, *Ruh*, *Nafs*, *Anima* and *Spiritus*, all originally meaning "breath," show that from the first humanity has tried to shadow forth its conception of an immaterial conscious something, within the body, by assimilating it to what seemed the most immaterial bodily phenomenon perceived, *viz.*, the breath. In course of time this vague conception was replaced by the more definite one of *Psyche* or Soul,—a separate entity implanted in the body at its birth and migrating into other bodies or into other worlds at death, the "*hospes comesque corporis*," as the Emperor Hadrian called it in his dying address to his soul. If Mr. Spencer, like Aristotle, is unable to accept this symbolical conception of the truth, we at any rate owe him a debt of gratitude for having demolished the arguments of Materialists against it. It is possible that he might view with less disapprobation such more abstract conceptions as those of the *Paratman*, or Aristotle's "Active Intellect" or "*Anima Mundi*" (*Nafs-i-kull*) the "*divinæ particula aurae*" immanent in every individual man. But, be this as it may, he has unquestionably rendered a great service to Religion by his general treatment of the subject.*

His verdict on the vexed question of "innate ideas" is not wholly in favour of either side. He thinks Locke right in denying that we have "innate ideas" in the sense of their having been divinely implanted in us, but declares his opinion to be, that we have many ideas and sentiments which, though *á posteriori* to the species, are *á priori* to each individual, those, namely, which are registered in the inherited nervous structures. Similarly he expresses the view that the scorn of Locke for the deductive method and the syllogism was unwarranted, since deduction in its proper place is indispensable in the conduct of philosophical enquiries. And finally he shows that of the opposing theories of crude Realism and Anti-realism, neither is wholly tenable. The Anti-realists were

* But the strongest argument is that of "design" as applied to the mind.—ED.

right in asserting the relativity of all knowledge, and th Realists in asserting the real existence of the external universe in the sense that the Absolute and Omnipresent Power is the substratum of all phenomena*. Berkeley, he says, was not an Anti-realist because he took Mind to be the real substratum, while Hume did not really believe everything to be an illusion but only tried his best to argue himself into that belief.

What is the criterion or measure of advance of Intelligence? Mr. Spencer indicates a very definite criterion. He shows that intelligence rises in proportion as it combines the original presentations of the senses into representations and re-representations, and ideas more and more removed from the primary presentations, and that a similar rule applies to advance of emotions and sentiments. The ideas of young children and of adults of low intellectual types and limited experience never rise much above the sensations of the moment, and the impulses originated by such sensations. They understand nothing and care for nothing beyond the personal concerns of themselves and their co-mates. As intelligence rises, ideas take wider and wider ranges, ever increase in generality, and recede more and more from the purely personal. This canon or law of advancing intelligence is well illustrated by a comparison of Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" with the old "Histories" of nations. The old-fashioned histories are overloaded with details of battles and sieges, of the chicaneries of diplomatists, of the gossip of courtiers, of the looks and dress of this or that "great man," of pageants and ceremonies and the like. But Mr. Spencer's "Sociology" lifts us at once to a higher plane of thought. We breathe a more elevated and more rarefied mental atmosphere. And the higher point of view certainly seems to help us to see things more as they really are, to trace the real succession of cases and effects in the past, and to form sounder estimates of the probable course of human progress in time to come.

The conception of a science of Sociology, first definitely formulated by Auguste Comte,—the conception, namely, that the conduct of individual men and social aggregates of men is governed by invariable natural laws, and that like effects follow like causes in human affairs just as they do in inorganic objects and in all sub-human organisms, is a conception diametrically opposed to popular notions. The presence of the personal factor, the free play of human will, is almost universally held to negative the possibility of framing any scientific prevision of the course of human conduct. In his

* See *note* on "fitful and irregular" *ante*. If the Absolute Power is the substratum" as He is—them all is granted.—ED.

"History of Civilization" Mr. Buckle tried to meet this difficulty. He showed that although it is impossible to predict the conduct of any particular individual man in any given cause, owing to the impossibility of ascertaining all the antecedents of his action yet that the average conduct may be predicted; that on the average, like antecedent conditions entail like consequent conduct, and that hence a science of Sociology is possible.

Mr. Spencer, however, is the first who has ever presented this science in a coherent form. The amount of time and labour he has devoted to it, is simply marvellous. As a preliminary he had eight volumes of "Descriptive Sociology" compiled, embodying the relevant observations of countless travellers and historians. His observation has indeed surveyed mankind from China to Peru, and marked, sifted and digested every fact bearing on the problem before him. Finally we have his "Principles of Sociology," a work which all who have read it, whether they agree with its main thesis or not, must admit to be one of the most valuable contributions in aid of clear thinking which have been made in the last fifty years. No reader of ordinary intelligence can go through the book without perceiving that it has purged his mind of not a few confused and erroneous notions and braced it to see things more as they really are.

A story is told of a Londoner, hailing from Bayswater, who paid a visit to Calcutta, and, on returning home, expressed the opinion that there was no religion or politics in India. The ideas on those subjects accepted as self-evident in the philosophy of Bayswater seemed altogether ignored in the latitude of Calcutta. Now, as Mr. Spencer points out, this is just the difficulty which we moderns encounter when we explore the ideas of primitive men. Their thoughts are not our thoughts, and ideas which seem self-evident to us are not apprehended by them and cannot be expressed in their languages. Their ideas are limited to the visible, the palpable and the concrete and never soar to the abstract and the impersonal. If we attribute our own developed ideas to primitive men, we go astray, and on the other hand we also go astray, if we deny that they possess the rudimentary notions out of which our own ideas have been gradually evolved. The poet remarks that "the baby new to earth and sky soon finds 'I am not what I see, and other than the things I touch.'" And the same holds true of that adult baby, the primitive man. He also soon learns to discriminate those states of his consciousness which present to him the external world from those other states of consciousness which present to him himself. In other words he possesses vague rudiments of the notions out of which the

conceptions of Subject and Object are ultimately evolved. Furthermore he comes to discriminate between the series of states of consciousness succeeding one another in unbroken sequence, and the element which remains constant and persistent throughout his whole experience, namely, himself. The states experienced succeed one another like so many independent beads, but the string on which they are strung continues to run through them all. What is this persistent element? Many thought it was the breath, which was observed to continue as long as this consciousness continued. Others likened it to a man's shadow. Evidence furnished by dreams and trances seemed to show that this "spirit" or breath was a separate entity, a sort of "*Ka*" or double which might continue to exist after the death of the body. From this primitive notion of "ghosts" Mr. Spencer thinks the subsequent conceptions of Deities were gradually evolved. These ghosts were credited with power to benefit or harm surviving men, and consequently men had to propitiate them by sacrifices and laudations. Long ago Xenophanes argued that if animals had gods they would undoubteldly represent such gods as endued with the form of animals, and as having appetites and emotions similar to those of animals. And Mr. Spencer instances a multitude of facts to prove that the same holds true of the gods of primitive men. Those bloodthirsty savages, the Fijians have cannibal gods, the exact counterparts of themselves, and the gods of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians exhibited similar characteristics. And the old Greek gods were as quarrelsome and ill-conditioned as the average of their worshippers. In the amusing Satire of Lucian, translated by Mr. Froude in his "Short Studies," these gods reproach one another for misconduct, which is slowly but surely undermining men's faith in their existence, and stopping the flow of the customary offerings and oblations. At the outset primitive men did not conceive the Power outside themselves as a power that made for righteousness. Quite the contrary. But as chronic militancy decreased and men's characters improved, a parallel improvement took place in the supposed characters of the gods. The older and cruder symbolical conceptions gave place to new symbolical conceptions of the Supreme Power ever more and more abstract and exalted*.

After dealing with primitive religious ideas Mr. Spencer traces in detail the evolution of human institutions, domestic, ceremonial, ecclesiastical, political, professional and industrial. In each department he supports his conclusions by a multitude

* This is a beautiful theory; but for "primitive notions of ghosts" and the "gradual evolution of subsequent conceptions of deities (from which the theory follows, we have only 3 votes of admiration ! ! !—ED.

illustrative facts, which have never been brought together by any preceding writer. And in every department he discusses and weighs the opinions of preceding enquirers such as Mr. Tyler, Sir J. Lubbock, Sir Henry Maine and others. He shows how domestic institutions like Polyandry and Polygamy, which are so repugnant to our present ideals, were almost forced on ancient societies by the conditions under which they lived, and how they thus possessed an average adaptation to the requirements of the time. It is impossible within the limits of an article even to glance at Mr. Spencer's main conclusions in Sociology. We may, however, at least note his cardinal doctrine,—*viz.*, that human institutions have advanced in proportion to the decrease of militant activities and increase of industrial activities, decrease of governmental coercion and increase of individual freedom, disappearance of status and extension of the regimé of contract. In fact Militancy is the Ahriman and Industrialism the Ormuzd of Mr. Spencer's sociological creed. The reader is sometimes tempted to ask himself if the Ahriman is really responsible for all the mischiefs Mr. Spencer lays to its charge, and whether the Ormuzd is quite so angelic as Mr. Spencer represents it to be, but these are details which need not be discussed in this place. We must not however take leave of the "Sociology" without calling attention to the chapter on Trades Unionism and especially to that on Socialism. Fanaticism is impervious to argument, but it is just possible that the weighty considerations put forward in this chapter may have some little weight with some of the amiable enthusiasts* who are captivated by the dreams of Mr. Henry George, Mr. Bellamy, the Fabian Essayists and the like.

Mr. Spencer's "Principles of Ethics" might appropriately open with the same proposition that Aristotle places at the beginning of his "Nicomachaean Ethics," *viz.*, "Every art and process and likewise every action and purpose seems to aim at some good." For Mr. Spencer holds that all conduct is directed to the realization of ends, and the end of the conduct we call moral is maintenance of the life of the individual and of the race. And of these ends the latter, *viz.*, the maintenance of the race, is the highest end to which the former is subordinate. All activities furthering the life of the individual are, Mr. Spencer thinks, pleasurable activities, and conversely all life-impeding activities are pain-giving activities. Hence good conduct is conduct which in the long run produces a balance of pleasure over pain, of happiness over misery. Note that this definition expressly excludes conduct directed to attaining mere immediate gratifications, as in the long run these may be

* These "amiable enthusiasts" had indistinctly grasped an ultimate truth.—ED.

counterbalanced by a surplus of pain. Note too, that it does not conflict with the view held by believers in a life to come, for they also consider good conduct to be conduct which eventuates in a balance of happiness over misery, if not in this life, yet in the life to come. Moreover the assumption made by optimists and pessimists with one accord, is that life must be adjudged to be worth living or not worth living according as it yields more happiness than misery, or contrariwise more misery than happiness.

Mr. Spencer's Ethical principle is therefore Hedonism. But he does not accept the Utilitarian formula, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He points out that this formula, taken in conjunction with the Utilitarian explanation that in the apportionment of the means to happiness, each individual is to count for one, and no individual for more than one,—this formula contradicts one of the clearest laws of rational Ethics, the law, namely, that each individual has the right to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, so long as he does not trespass on the like rights of other individuals. And he further objects to the Utilitarian theory that it implies that each individual must make for himself a long and impossible calculation of the consequences of each action before he can pronounce it good or bad. In other words, the individual is required by the Utilitarian principle to ignore the accumulated experience of the race, and to trust to his own particular experience alone. Mr. Spencer's view is that the moral and intellectual experiences of the race are stored up in the cerebral structures inherited by the individual, just as voices and words are registered on the delicate plates of a phonograph, and are capable of being again resuscitated and realized in the consciousness of each scion of the race. He regards the mind not as a mere *tabula rasa*, but as a tablet written on with sympathetic ink, so to speak, which writing again becomes visible when subjected to appropriate conditions. In a word, he thinks we have innate moral ideas *à priori* to the individual, though *à posteriori* to the race; ideas evolved in the course of ages, but not implanted by special supernatural influences in each case. And ideas thus intrinsically cognate to the mind of the race, are naturally enforced by the authority of custom and the weight of general opinion.

Plato thought that a true conception of justice could only be framed after constructing the ideal of a perfect state, in which alone perfect justice could exist. And in like manner Mr. Spencer thinks that absolute ethics is an ideal impossible to be realized in our present transitional state. So long as militant activities persist we can never realize, much less act up to, perfect ethical standards. All that is now feasible is to

ascertain the best general rules of conduct, or the least bad rules, which can be followed under existing circumstances. So long as part of our conduct is necessarily regulated by the religion of enmity appropriate to Militancy, and another part by the religion of amity appropriate to the peaceful industrial state, we can only make compromises between the desirable and the possible.

Space is lacking for the discussion of the manner in which Mr. Spencer applies the principles just indicated. But attention may be called to the way in which he balances the opposing claims of Egoism and Altruism, and to the moral justification he gives of the former within due limits. The great moralist of the eighteenth century Bishop Butler, in his sermon on "Resentment," had already done something in this direction, but Mr. Spencer's treatment of the question is much more profound. The only doubt suggested is whether Mr. Spencer sufficiently recognises the intrinsic nobility of self-sacrifice. It is quite possible that this doubt may be prompted by emotions inherited from mediæval militant times, but, however derived, the doubt does suggest itself whether Mr. Spencer is fully alive to the moral grandeur of characters like that of Aristotle's "Brave Man," or Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior," not to speak of the characters of the saints and martyrs.

But all objections to Mr. Spencer's opinions ultimately resolve themselves into the one, *viz.*, that they are what is called "unsettling." It may be asked "If the ideas prevalent at any time have an average adaptation to the mental conditions of that time, (as he admits they have), why interfere with them?" To this question it is best to give his own answer.

"The reply is, that though existing ideas and institutions have an average adaptation to the characters of the people who live under them; yet, as these characters are ever changing, the adaptation is ever becoming imperfect; and the ideas and institutions need remodelling with a frequency proportionate to the rapidity of the change. Hence, while it is requisite that free play should be given to conservative thought and action, progressive thought and action must also have free play. Without the agency of both, there cannot be those continual re-adaptations which orderly progress demands. Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realise the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive

that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction : leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future ; and that his thought are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies, through whom works the Unknown Cause ; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorised to profess and act out that belief."

E. H. WHINFIELD.

ART. XII.—THE EVOLUTION OF A BRITISH COLONY.

IT is interesting to study the evolution of a British Colony, to note its growth and progress along the various lines which together go to form national life, from the day the first few settlers appear on the ground, till the day salvos of artillery proclaim the birth of a "Commonwealth" destined to set its mark on the history of the world. We see first the rudimentary beginnings, the embryo as it were, in which no stretch of imagination can discern the future magnificent growth. Then the babe begins to walk, the boy to run, leap walls and fences, the lad to make mistakes and correct himself, and, coming of age, to look round him with conscious strength. And of the numerous Colonies which have sprung from the United Kingdom, Victoria in Australia probably offers us the best sample to study. It is not only the smallest of the several Colonies on the mainland, but one of the later-born. In New South Wales, too, she had a neighbour which not only pretentiously assumed to herself the title of the "Mother Colony of the Australias," but overshadowed her by her huge size. Tasmania, too, lying adjacent, was an older colony, and excelled in climate and scenery. Victoria started her career without any advantages. And yet in a few years she picked up and out-distanced her rivals till lately her population exceeded that of New South Wales, and she took the lead in commercial enterprise. It is true much of this was owing to the discovery of gold within her borders, but mostly all the other Australian Colonies can also boast of gold and other valuable minerals, such as coal, &c., denied to Victoria. Even now she has the most manufactures and the largest industries; has the greatest amount of capital embarked abroad (in the other Colonies) and leads in arts and letters. All this is the outcome of a little more than half a century, and appears as marvellous as a dream. There may be old men still living who in 1833 or 1835 landed on the then wild shores of Hobson's Bay untenanted by a single white human being. The city of Melbourne, the Queen City of the Southern half of the world, now extends to many miles in each direction, including some scores of magnificent suburbs, parks, gardens, and watering places. With its large population, its thronged thoroughfares, its wealth of grand public buildings, its crowded wharves and busy seaports, its amenities of civilisation, it may compare favorably with the capitals of many of the older states of Europe. The growth of the Colony has been the growth of Melbourne: both have run

parallel to one another and kept pace together. The study of such a Colony, its history from its inception, must necessarily be interesting as well as instructive. We propose to do this by division into well-defined periods, furnishing connected views of subjects, with details illustrative of the times. The periods are those of Early Settlement and progress till the separation from New South Wales; the Legislative Council; and Representative Government. In each of these periods we shall view respectively settlement and population; Government and politics; wealth and material progress; and other lines and influences. We should, however, have a brief descriptive account of the Colony first.

Victoria, the southernmost colony on the mainland lies between the 34th and 39th degrees of south latitude and the 141st and 150th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length east and west is about 420 miles; and its greatest breadth north and south about 250 miles. Bounded on the north by the Murray River, on the west by South Australia, and on the south and east by the Southern Ocean, Bass' Straits, and the Pacific Ocean, it forms a compact and well-defined territory. According to the latest computation its area is 87,884 square miles or 56,245,760 acres about the size of Great Britain. The extent of coast line is about 600 geographical miles.

The principal features of this most fertile and favored tract of the Australian Continent—originally called *Australia Felix*—may be viewed in connection with its geological formation; its mountain and river systems; its lakes; its coast and interior tablelands; its ports and inlets; its climate; and its mineral, vegetable, and animal, productions.

Geologically, portions of Victoria—especially in the east—are among the earliest elevated in the continent. The bed-rock on which the country generally rests is of the Silurian epoch, veined by auriferous quartz Most of the best land is of volcanic origin, of a deep black or a dark chocolate colour, and often extends to a great depth, and very fertile. It is estimated that there are about 23,000,000 acres of rich loams and alluvial flats, 8,000,000 acres of rich black and chocolate-coloured soils, and 5,000,000 acres of light and sandy soils.

A Dividing Range runs along the length of the country at a distance of from 60 to 70 miles from the sea-coast. This Range is called the Australian Alps in the east, and the Pyrenees in the west. Numerous minor spurs and offshoots are thrown off in various parts, especially in the east. The highest peaks of the Australian Alps attain an elevation of 7,000 feet.

The Dividing Range forms the great watershed of the country. On the one side numerous rivers flow down to the

Southern Ocean, and on the other numbers of streams tread their way to the Murray of which they form affluents. Of these the longest is the Goulburn, 345 miles. Of the others which flow into the ocean the longest is the Glenelg 281 miles, the Yarra, though short as compared with the Glenelg, is navigable for ocean-steamers as far as Melbourne. Besides these, there are a few rivers in the north-west which have their outfall in lakes, the longest being the Wimmera, 228 miles flowing into Lake Hindmarsh. There are nearly 200 rivers in Victoria. The Murray which forms the northern boundary line of the colony, has a length in Victoria of 980 miles, its total length being 1,380 miles. Of lakes 157 in all, the largest are, in the East near the coast, Wellington 34,500 acres, and Victoria 28,500 acres, in the West, Corangamite 57,700 acres, and in the North-West Hindmarsh 30,000 acres. and Tyrrell 42,600 acres. Victoria, Corangamite, and Tyrrell are salt, and the others fresh. Most of the lakes of the colony are fresh.

The coast territory between the ocean and the Dividing Range acquires a gradual elevation of from a few feet to, in parts, nearly 1,800 feet above sea-level. The table lands on the other side of the Range descend from an equal elevation to about 500 feet at the Murray.

The extensive coast-line presents numerous bays and inlets, there being 39 of them enumerated in official papers. Of these, Port Phillip Bay is the largest and includes Hobson's Bay on the North and Corio Bay on the South-West. It presents the aspect of a secure inland sea with cities, towns, boroughs, and villages fringing its shores, Melbourne itself being situated in the North. The two ports of the city of Melbourne, Williamstown and Sandridge, alongside the piers of which the largest steamers can lie, are situated at the northern end of Hobson's Bay.

Being the most southerly portion of the continent, and growing naturally and abundantly the eucalyptus tree, the leaves of which exude a volatile oil which exercises a most wholesome and purifying influence on the atmosphere. Victoria possesses the most temperate and healthy climate of any part of the mainland. This is evidenced alike in the vigorous growth of her sons and daughters; in the splendid horses, cattle, and sheep raised within her bounds; and in her varied and numerous vegetable products, some timber especially attaining to a height of 480 feet, a height which far exceeds even the vegetable giants of the Western States of America and the Yosemite Valley. The ordinary winter range of the thermometer is from 45° to 60°, and the summer range from 65° to 80°. During a dry season and when there

are hot winds the range is sometimes from 90° to 110°; b these great heats seldom last beyond a day or two. Th mean annual temperature of Melbourne is 57° ·6 and th average annual rainfall about 26 inches.

Among the vegetable products only a brief enumeration can be attempted here. The eucalyptus or gumtree of every variety, ironbark, acacia, tea-tree, banksia, sassafras, native hop, may be named out of a very large number of native growth. All the flowers, fruits, vegetables, and cereals of Europe as well as of warmer climes, thrive, including the olive, almond, orange, grape, tobacco, sugar-cane, hemp, flax, and banana. Among indigenous animals may be mentioned the kangaroo, wallaby, opossum, native cat, native dog (dingo), and the porcupine. The Angora and Cashmere goats have also been imported and thrive. Among birds may be named the eagle, hawk, magpie, laughing jackass (great kingfisher), various parrots, black swans, waterfowls, quail, and snipe. Fish of many kinds and good flavour abound along the coasts and the mouths of rivers.

Such is a brief descriptive account of a country which in only a few years has risen, as we shall see in the following pages, to the proud pre-eminence of leading the British Colonies in the Southern Seas.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

1834—1851.

Early settlement and progress of Victoria till separation.

Administrators, &c., of the settlements.

1836 William Lonsdale, Capt., 4th Regt. Resident Magistrate.

1839 Charles Latrobe, Superintendent of Port Phillip.

We proceed in the order we have previously intimated: settlement and population, Government and politics, material progress and wealth, other lines and influences.

(*a*) SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION.—

On the 19th November 1834, Messrs. Edward and Stephen Henty, the sons of an English banker of substance who had emigrated to Tasmania, landed at Portland, established a branch of their whaling industry, and imported sheep and cattle which they fed on the rich pastures of the district. As will be seen under a subsequent head they throve and prospered. In 1839 a census taken of Portland gave the population there at 300 souls. In 1840 the township contained one good house, six decent cottages, and several huts. There was a population of about one hundred souls, living in them, while that of the entire district amounted to about 600 souls.

We go back, however, to the year following that on which ...e Hentys landed at Portland. Two ventures were started ...om Launceston in Tasmania in 1835 both of which had the ...bject of settling in Port Phillip territory which till then was unoccupied. John Batman was the leader of one which belonged to a large and influential association in Tasmania, and John Pascoe Fawkner of the other. The former arrived first (May 29th) and landed at the Indented Heads on the western shores of Port Phillip Bay. Batman viewed the country around and concluded a bargain with a number of native chiefs to obtain possession of several hundred thousand acres of land along the bay-shore.

Fawkner having taken ill immediately before starting, his party came on without him, sailed up to the north end of the Bay, entered the Yarra (20th August) and proceeded up the stream in search of fresh water. This they found higher up near the site of the present city of Melbourne when they came to an anchor. In six days after (29th August) they landed, they had five acres of land ploughed and sown with wheat on the northern bank of the river. Fawkner himself followed (10th October) and formed another cultivation of eighty acres on the south side of the river. A number of other settlers, all from Tasmania, followed Fawkner. At the end of the first year the settlement had a total population of about 50 souls. There were two weather-boarded huts with brick chimnies, and some eight or ten turf erections. The country had been explored northward to a distance of 20 miles and found to exceed the utmost expectation that had been previously formed of its fertility.

On the first day of the next year (1836) Fawkner opened the first public-house in a log hut. Batman, who had gone back to Launceston to confer with the Association with which he was connected, returned in April and joined the settlement on the Yarra with his family and such of his party as still remained at the Indented Heads. By the month of May there were 117 persons in the place, and this number increased by the end of the year to 224, of whom thirty-eight were females. In December three public-house licenses had been granted. But there was not a butcher or baker or tailor or carpenter or wheelwright in the whole settlement, and there was only one shoemaker. It is recorded that the settlers had to live upon salt beef and "damper," which were "washed down with copious libations of rum and water." Settlement and population increased rapidly. The Surveyor-General of the then one colony called indefinitely New South Wales, Major Mitchell, in ignorance of the existence of these parties of settlers, had been exploring the interior south-western portions,

and had fallen in with the Henty's settlement at Portland, and returned without coming across the township on Port Phillip Bay. He gave such a favorable account of the richness and fertility of the country he had passed through—which on that account, he called *Australia Felix*—that it had the effect of drawing numbers of settlers overland from Sydney. Accordingly when the then Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, visited Port Phillip (March 1837), it is noted that 500 people cheered him at his departure. Before this, as will be seen below in the following section, the settlement had had conferred on it a Resident Magistrate and other officials. At the end of 1837 the census recorded a total population of 1,264 persons. At this time, too, the Rev. Dr. Lang, * a very active Presbyterian Minister in Sydney, interested himself in getting out several thousand Scottish emigrants to Australia, many of whom as shepherds and small farmers found their way into *Australia Felix*.

In 1838 at first there were only a few wooden houses at the settlement, and a small square wooden building did duty as church or chapel to the various religious denominations. A branch of the Van Diemen's Land Bank was also established. But growth was rapid. By the end of the year there were branches of two other Banks in active operation, the hotels were transformed into handsome inns, there were numerous brick buildings, some of two and even three stories, and the lines of streets had been cleared, marked, and in parts were being macadamized. The population at the end of the year numbered 3,511. Four constables kept the peace; there were four apiece of tailors, blacksmiths, and butchers; three a-piece of bakers and saddlers; and twelve shoemakers; all in the township. The only lawyer also kept a butcher's shop,—a hint to lawyers who fail in law. In 1839 the population had increased to 5,822. In this year, too, Angus MacMillan and Count Strzelecki, independently of each other explored the eastern portions of the district, which was thenceforward called Gippsland in honor of the then Governor, Sir George Gipps, who had succeeded Sir Richard Bourke. In 1840 the population numbered 10,291. The year following the number rose to 20,416. A colonist of those days thus describes an ordinary scene he witnessed near Melbourne in 1841:—

"The native village—what a scene! naked savages, shaggy dogs, bark and bough dwellings. 'Good morning Sir!' say the pickaninies with the utmost gravity. 'Where you go'?

*We had the advantageof intimate private intercourse with this great pioneer of Australian Settlement during the latter years of his long and useful life.

ks another. There is something inexpressibly ludicrous in he circumstance that these ugliest pieces of human nature are heard singing in Melbourne 'I'd be a butterfly.'" In 1842 the population had increased to 23,799, of whom more than a third or 8,108, were females. Cabbages were cultivated on the site of the present Treasury, and "a wagon and a train of horses were absolutely swallowed up in Elizabeth Street." Stumps and reservoirs of mud marked the line of Collins Street. In 1843 the population numbered 24,103; and in 1844, 26,734. In the latter year, 1844, Melbourne is thus described by an eye-witness:—"A lusty, stately, bantling of a city; vigorous in its growth, of a cheerful aspect, and graceful in its proportions. Fronting the river is Flinders Street displaying many noble houses, with English-grassed lawns, one of them crowned with a graceful dome. Collins Street contains the most respectable assemblage of shops; n it are the banks, most of the places of worship, and it is the great thoroughfare. Queen Street and Elizabeth Street are the next in importance. Bourke Street is the most frequented of any on the arrival of English and Scottish ships, for in it, at the corner of Elizabeth Street, stands the Post Office—a convenient and good building." The principal buildings were the Mechanics' Institute (then used as the Town Hall) in Collins Street, the Court House, the Jail, and the Custom House. There was even then a good Market. Tame emus walked, pelicans stalked, and kangaroos hopped, in front of the houses. "But of all objects the wild, grotesque, painted, feather-ornamented, tea-tree blossom carrying natives, with their singular costumes, war implements, and their wild gestures, grouped and scattered over the town, and with the shaggy accompaniment of dogs, give its most original feature to Melbourne." The figures of the population for the several years after 1844 till the last year of the period were:—

1845	... 31,280	1848	... 51,390.
1846	... 38,334	1849	... 66,220.
1847	... 42,936	1850	... 76,162.

Of this last total 30,667 were females. We now proceed to view the Government and politics of the period.

(*b.*) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.

The bargain made by Batman with the native chiefs was set aside, but his Association was allowed a compensation of £7,000. The central government at Sydney at first also refused to permit settlement in Port Phillip—(as enlarging the area of escape to convicts) and even went to the length of proclaiming the settlers intruders on vacant Crown

lands. The rapidity, however, with which population flowed in rendered the prohibition a dead letter. Unable to prevent settlement, the Government next addressed itself to see what could be done for it in the way of administration, and deputed Mr. George Stewart, the Police Magistrate of Goulburn, in May 1836 to proceed to Port Phillip and report on it. Mr. Stewart found the settlement then variously called by several English and native names – as Batmania, Dutigalla, Bearhurp, Glenelg, &c—thriving and advancing. The settlers had also elected an arbitrator, Mr. James Simpson, from among themselves, to decide disputes. Acting on the report furnished by Mr. Stewart, Sir Richard Bourke appointed Captain William Lansdale, of the 4th Regiment, Resident Magistrate of the Settlement (September 29th) 1836. Other officials, as surveyors, &c., followed the Magistrate.

Captain Lonsdale lost no time in fixing on the site of the future metropolis. Six months after (March 1837) Sir R. Bourke himself paid a visit to the district, and concurred in Captain Lonsdale's choice of the site—the same as that on which the city of Melbourne now stands—giving the town its present name after the then Premier of England. Mr. Robert Hoddle, Surveyor, accompanied Sir R. Bourke and laid out the town, shortly after which (June 1st) the first land-sale was held. The Governor also named Williamstown in honor of the then reigning sovereign. Geelong, which was also then occupied retained its native name.

During the next year, (1838), under Governor Sir George Gipps, a resident Judge, Mr. Justice Willis, was sent to the new settlement; and a Protector of Aborigines was appointed for the Port Phillip tribes. A fortnightly overland mail to Sydney was now established, the postage of a letter costing 15 pence.

In 1839 the eastern portion of the continent, hitherto generally called New South Wales, was divided into three districts, Moreton Bay (afterwards Queensland), New South Wales proper, and Port Phillip; and on 30th September, 1839 Mr. Charles Latrobe was sent out by the Imperial Government as Superintendent of the lastnamed on a salary of £ 800 a year, and allowances for his staff and office expenditure. Mr. Latrobe continued in office till May 1854, becoming the first Governor on the erection of Victoria into a separate government. In this year (1839), too, we notice Captain Fyans as Magistrate at Geelong. Next year Sir George Gipps appointed Mr. James Blair Magistrate at Portland.

Notwithstanding the erection of Port Phillip into a separate district, with its own Superintendent, the colonists began to demand separation from the Central Government of New

South Wales. The complaints were that land-sales were held in Sydney, and the land-funds of the district were absorbed by the Central Government. In 1841, however, these funds were surrendered. Sir George Gipps himself paid a visit in October of this year (1841), and spent six days at Port Phillip. The year following Melbourne was incorporated, and elected its first Mayor, Mr. Henry Condell, a brewer. The contest was severe with Edward Curr, the leader of the party for separation, and the "Riot Act" had to be read.

In 1843 the concession of representative institutions was granted to Australia, and six members were allowed to the Port Phillip District. The six who were elected were :—

Henry Condell	... the Mayor, a brewer,	for Melbourne town
Charles Hotson Ebden	... settler, Port Phillip, ...	for Port Phillip.
Alexander Thomson	... " " "	
Thomas Walker	... Merchant, Sydney, formerly a surgeon,	
Charles Nicholson	Physician, Sydney,	
Rev. John Dunmore Lang	Presbyterian Minister, Sydney	

Evidently the settlers could not spare many of their best men

The Rev. Dr. Lang, a man of vast energy, however, did not sit idle on his oars. On 21st August 1844 he moved the separation of Port Phillip and its erection into an independent colony. In the division the six members of the colony stood alone. On the following day a petition for separation was presented from 2194 Port Phillip inhabitants. Similar petitions and memorials continued to be sent in, or were forwarded home to England. In 1848 Dr. Lang was entertained at a public dinner in Melbourne as an expression of the colonists' appreciation of his efforts to bring about separation. The people were thoroughly disgusted at the farce of sending representatives to a legislature where their voices were powerless; and when the next election came round this year (1848), Ebden declined to be re-elected. The advocates for separation at this juncture determined, therefore, upon an extraordinary expedient to make their grievances heard in England, and nominated and elected Earl Grey, the then Secretary of State, against Mr. Foster, the local candidate. This novel election, however, was set aside by the Government, and a new writ issued, Geelong being appointed the polling place. The local candidate was returned; but the expedient of electing Earl Grey had the effect it was intended for. The grievances of the colonists came under the notice of the English Parliament, and the matter was referred to the Privy Council, who reported in favour of erecting the district into a separate colony, and suggested the name of Victoria for it.

Mr. Latrobe had fallen into disfavour with the colonists. It was believed that he sacrificed the interests of his district to the Central Government at Sydney. A letter of his, too, leaked out, in which he stated that, in his opinion, the colony was not yet prepared for representative government, and therefore should remain in the hands of a governor, executive, and nominee council Nothing could have given the colonists greater offence. They accordingly held public meetings and demanded his removal. He partially, however, regained their good opinion by ordering away the *Randolf* which then happened to enter the Bay with convicts not knowing where to discharge her human cargo. The system of transportation of convicts to any part of Australia was a sore point with the colonists; and in February 1851 a *League* was formed throughout the eastern colonies to put an end to it. Large sums were subscribed in Melbourne for the purposes of the League, whose efforts, as will be noticed in the next period, were speedily successful.

On 17th November 1850 intelligence reached Melbourne of the passing of an Act which had for some time been under consideration for the separation of the Port Phillip District from the central government, and its erection into an independent colony. This Act came into operation on the 1st July, the following year (1851). The rejoicings lasted for five days, and the inhabitants ran wild with joy. "Bonfires blazed all over the country—no work was done—everybody was continually walking in procession" (!) A stream of 5,000 colonists passed over Prince's Bridge which was opened on the 14th of the month (November). The anniversary of the separation (July 1st) is kept as a public holiday throughout the colony down to the present time.

In 1845 Judge Jeffcott, who had succeeded Judge Willis in 1843, resigned, and was followed by Judge Therry, who again was succeeded by Judge à Beckett in 1846.

There were 40 Post Offices open in 1850. The General Revenue amounted to £259,433, and the General Expenditure to £196,440.

(c) Material Progress and Wealth.

We have seen the Hentys settled in 1834 at Portland. In the following year they exported 700 tons of whale oil and bone, and had formed several sheep "runs." In 1840 they had 1,700 bales of wool ready for shipment. The year following Portland helped to mitigate the famine at Adelaide by sending mobs of cattle overland.

At the Port Phillip Settlement we have seen how Fawkner's party first, and he himself, afterwards, began cultivation with

ve acres and then 80 acres. The five acres gave a return of 100 lbs. of wheat. Batman's Association also landed 500 sheep at Williamstown, and Dr. Thomson imported 50 pure Hereford cows. At the end of the first year (1835) the total livestock was estimated at six horses, 100 head of cattle, and 1,400 sheep. Three "stations" had been formed within a distance of 10 miles, known by the names of their respective owners—Connolly's, Swanston's, and Solomon's. The number of shipping entered inwards was eight—barques, brigs, &c.

During the next year (1836) the value of livestock and property was estimated at £110,000. In December there were 14 horses, 121 cattle, and 42,621 sheep. When Sir R. Bourke visited Melbourne early the following year (1857), settlers were found who had pushed out in all directions with sheep and cattle. Large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were driven overland from Sydney, through even hostile tribes of blacks, to occupy the newly-discovered pastoral country, and at the time of the above visit it was estimated that there were fully 2,500 head of cattle and 140,000 sheep in *Australia Felix*. Land had begun to acquire a certain value at the infant settlement, and the average price realised at the land-sale held just after, was at the rate of £70 an acre. The first exports of wool from Port Phillip this year were valued at £11,639; and the imports at £115,379. Labour, provisions, and rent soon rose to an enormous price, the four-pound loaf being sold for 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the veriest huts let for £2 per week. Three branches of Banks, the Van Diemen's Land Bank, the Bank of Australasia, and the Union Bank, were established this year (1838).

In 1839 an era of wild speculation in land and stock set in. The entire population was affected by it, and every one jobbed in land and "corner-allotments." This continued till 1843, when the crash came, and everyone, from being fancifully wealthy found himself a beggar. Three hundred insolvencies occurred in Melbourne. Landed property and stock fell to a nominal value and were unsaleable. Just, however, when (1843) affairs were at the gloomiest, the expedient of "boiling-down" sheep for the tallow was hit upon, and saved the colony from utter ruin.

Settlers notwithstanding continued to come, and launched out both labour and capital on agricultural operations. The experiences of one in those days as noted down by himself are worth glancing at. Writing in 1841 he says:—"An allotment of 95 acres south of the Yarra. First we have to do carpentering, brick-making, house-building, and gardening. Then the land clearing. To cut down the timber, gum, box,

she-oak, and wattle trees, was an Herculean task. Progressing wearily. Day after day it was no slight army of trees against which we had to do battle. Some of the trees were of unconscionable girth, six or eight yards in circumference.

"Immense was the space of ground that had to be dug away to lay bare the roots. And then, what roots! One of these monsters of the wild was 15 days burning; burning night and day, and was a regular ox-roasting fire all the time. On one occasion I was laid up for a fortnight, keeping my bed part of the time, having been struck by the fall of a tree. I had to change almost immediately my linen; wringing wet with the perspiration of that blow's agony. . . . We had now to begin fencing: the commencement of other sorrows. . . . . First over the Yarra, forty yards wide, we had to fasten a rope, and to construct a punt. . . . Wet as the weather was, we commenced bringing down our fencing materials. And through what a kind of country we had to bring them! Along the sides of sloping hills, and through marshes, and deep break-neck ravines. At the first attempt, the cart was broken! Sometimes at the gullies or ravines the cart had to be unloaded to allow it to get over, and then overloaded again. When all the materials were carefully got over the river, there came a flood and swept a great portion of them into it! . . . . Our land was not sown until it was too late, and the crops were consequently worthless. Thus one year's labour, outlay, and seed were thrown away." It is noted that to clear land in 1840 cost £16 an acre. The prices of cattle, farm, &c., produce in 1844 are also given—

Farm Implements.

Drays in 1841—£10 or £8. In 1842 £28.
Ploughs, £2-3.
Harrows, 32*s*. £2 per pair.
Working bullocks, £6 per pair.
Horses, £10—£20 each.
New calved cows, £1-10—£2-10*s*. calves given in.
Sheep, 5*s*. per head.
Mixed herds, £1 per head (of cattle).

Prices of Farm Produce.

Oaten Hay £1-10—£2-10.
Barley 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 6*d*. per bushel.
Oats, 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. „ „
Wheat, 3*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. „ „
Colonial cheese, 8*d*. per lb.
Butter, 6*d*. to 9*d*. „ „
Potatoes, 2*s*.-6*d*. per cwt.
Mutton, 1*s*. ½*d*. per lb.
Beef, 1*s*. ½*d*. „ „
Wages, servants, £8 to £12.

Labourers, £15 to £20 per annum and rations.
Mechanics, anything they could demand and get.

In 1844 the system of "special surveys" was adopted for agricultural areas. By it eight square miles of unreserved territory could be purchased by a payment of £5,120. Three such sections near Melbourne, three in Gippsland, one at Kilmore, and one at Port Fairy, were applied for under this system, and became agricultural centres. As yet Australia had not been roused by the gold discoveries, and her path of progress lay in quiet pastoral and agricultural lines, a path which, as we have seen, and as we shall see from the statistics we furnish below, she was diligently treading. From the year 1844 to 1850, therefore, there is nothing eventful to record—only peaceful progress varied by occasional droughts and floods, the greatest flood ever known at Port Phillip occurring in 1844. In the Geelong district vineyards began to be formed in 1846, and there were seventy-eight acres under cultivation. Three acres and a half had been laid down as early as 1842. At the close of this period, in 1850-51, there were 161½ acres under cultivation. In 1849 about 1,000 Germans were introduced into Port Phillip, many of them as vinegrowers round about Geelong.

It is to be noted that in 1840 the first iron foundry and engineering shop—the beginning of the great manufactures of the colony—was set up in Melbourne by Robert Langlands and Thomas Fulton, a foundry that still leads in iron work.

At the close of this period with a population of 76,162 souls, and a revenue and expenditure of £455,873, there were 52,341 acres under cultivation, 28,511 acres being under wheat; 5 008 acres under oats; 2,102 acres under barley; 2,838 acres under potatoes; 13,567 acres under hay; 161½ acres under vines;—with a return of 556,167 bshls. of wheat, 99,535 bshls. of oats, 40,144 bshls. of barley, 5,613 tons of potatoes, 20,971 tons of hay, while the wine made, was 4,621 gallons and the brandy 286 gallons. The livestock amounted to 21,219 horses, 378,806 cattle, 6,032,783 sheep, and 9,260 pigs The number of vessels inwards and outwards was 1,063 with a total of 195,117 tons. The imports amounted in value to £744,925, and the exports to £1,041,796. The quantity of wool exported was 18,091,207 lbs. of the value of £826,190; of tallow 10,056,256 lbs. of the value of £132,863; and the value of the hides and skins exported was £5,196. Of breadstuffs, too, 10,668 bshls. were exported of the value of £2,469. A good many flour mills and other manufactures were at work, in number not under fifty.

It is evident, therefore, from these figures, that notwithstanding the great "crash" above noted, and occasional droughts—

there being one this very year (1850) from May till July, when stock perished in great numbers—followed shortly by the great disaster of "Black Thursday," the settlement made steady and even remarkable material progress.

The great disaster of "Black Thursday" consisted in a conflagration which enveloped a wide extent of country on the 6th February 1851. The thermometer ranged from 118° to 119° in the shade, and distant parts appear to have simultaneously taken fire. The whole country appeared wrapped in flames, the most fertile districts were burnt up, flocks and herds were abandoned by their keepers, many lives were lost, and destruction and ruin fell upon a great many. The ashes from the forests on fire on Mount Macedon, 46 miles away, fell in the streets of Melbourne. The atmosphere was smokey and dark, whence, as well as from the disastrous consequences, the day was called "Black Thursday"

Other Lines and Influences.

The Press.—On New Year's day 1838 Fawkner started a weekly paper in manuscript, of which the only copy was to be seen at his own inn. The paper continued in that form for nine weeks, and was then brought out in type. It was discontinued after 32 numbers owing to Fawkner's inability to satisfy the guarantees required by Government for a newspaper in those days. He, however, shortly after managed to start the *Melbourne Daily News* and *Port Phillip Patriot* (which was afterwards merged in the *Argus*); and was followed in October by Strode and Arden who brought out the *Port Phillip Gazette*. The *Port Phillip Herald* began on 3rd January 1840 as a bi-weekly till 1st January 1849 when it came out as a daily. The *Melbourne Argus* was commenced 1st June 1846 by Wm. Kerr, ceasing to exist on 12th September 1848. Mr. E. Wilson then bought up the plant at a Sheriff's sale, and recommenced the paper on 15th September 1848, converting it to a daily on 18th June 1849. Fawkner, who appears indefatigable in starting journals, also began the *Geelong Advertiser* as a weekly in November 1840.

The Church.—We have already seen how in 1838 a square wooden building was appropriated to the services of all denominations alike. In September 1839 the foundation stone of the first separate place of Christian worship erected in the colony, the Independent Chapel, was laid; and in the following November the Church of England Cathedral, St. James's was commenced. There were then six places of worship in all. The Press and the Church thus seem to have come into existence and progressed together; and both

erved to elevate and refine the hard lot of the early pioneers. In January 1841 the first Scots' Church was established, followed in October by the erection of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis'. The first Baptist Chapel, too, was organised the same year. The Wesleyans had long had services of their own. In 1849 the Rt. Rev. Dr. Perry was installed as the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, and soon after, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Melbourne arrived in the colony.

Education.—In 1839 there were four schools with seventy-eight scholars These had largely increased when in 1849 the Denominational School Board was appointed. There were then twenty-seven schools and 2,596 scholars.

Buildings, &c.—In 1846 the foundation stones of the Princes Bridge over the Yarra, and of the Melbourne Hospital, were laid The opening of the Bridge in 1850 we have noticed in connection with the rejoicings for the separation. A site too was selected for a light house on Gabo Island. In 1844 a memorable *corobbori* of 700 aboriginals from all parts of the country was held near Melbourne.

So far it has been most interesting to view the birth and vigorous infancy of Victoria; and we have supplied details which it will be hardly necessary to furnish in connection with the remaining periods. We see in this first period rapid growth in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and in trades and the beginnings of the press and other institutions as well as the first stirring of political life. The politics concerned about the Superintendent's truckling to the Central Government, about separation and how to get it; and the excitement was all about blacks, floods, fires, convicts, land sales, driving sheep overland arrival of mails, Orange celebrations, and mayoral contests.

Large, however as were the undoubted results, they were, as we shall see as we proceed, very much surpassed in the near, and immediate future. The discovery of gold changed the destiny of the continent We shall see this same Victoria shortly after she had started on her separate existence and discovered gold within her borders, outstripping her older and larger sister-colonies in population and wealth, and assuming the premier position among them, and her pioneers laying broad and deep the foundations of future prosperity and social and political freedom.

(*To be continued.*)

OLD AUSTRALIAN COLONIST.

ART. XIII.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF CHOLERA AND SCARLATINA.

THE following investigation into the cause and cure of cholera and scarlatina was privately circulated some fifteen years ago among a large number of leading medical authorities throughout the world. Not one of its conclusions has been shaken since—not even by Pasteur's true serum theories or Dr. Koch's futile cholera bacilli discovery. Based on chemistry, they cannot be shaken. They represent, further, over half a century's particular experience and study, and successful practice. They are made public now to show the truth about these diseases according to the irrefragable testimony supplied by the chemistry of the body in health and disease. Fashions may come and go, even in medicine, but chemistry cannot alter.

Medical science really consists in the study of the chemical action and changes set up in the human body by abnormal conditions and the change from the normal.

There is no remedy which is a universal cure, or which must and shall infallibly cure in every case of a disease, even if its action on the disease is as certain as mathematics and the physics of chemistry.

There are too many independent elements which come in between its action in every individual case, and affect it in some degree. These elements, too, cannot be calculated with mathematical exactitude. Very large and extended and close and precise and continuous study, observation and practice, only can enable the chemically-enlightened practitioner to make but an approximation of each of them, which may suffice for very successful practice, but which will not obviate error.

Specially in cholera are there all these independent elements, and also chances of error. Here several poisonous abnormal conditions, with varying forces, disturb the balance of the powers and the intimate correlation of all the parts and organs of the human body to each other, and the disturbance is in proportion to the forces of the varying abnormal conditions, and numerous physical and other considerations relating to the patient. And further; these varying poisonous abnormal conditions are accompanied or illustrated by the liquefaction of the blood and destruction of the red corpuscles, which sets up its own element of evil and danger.

In the investigation of cholera, therefore, or indeed of any disease, it is sufficient if we conduct our research on acknowledg-

scientific principles. Chemical science as applied to, and in, the human body will indicate to us the cure. This must be cofirmed by practice. If any particular results in practice fail, we are to examine into the causes of the failure, which may be many. We are not to reject the true for our own defective observation of it, and erroneous application to it, of its remedies. Where there are so many independent elements of calculation, and sources of error, and all as applied to getting a result of fine narrowed accuracy, which the equilibrium of the forces of the healthy vital process represents, it hardly needs to be a mathematician to understand that the resulting confirmation may be wanting to any one individual heedless, or even observant and scientific, practitioner. But truth is truth. I here show the conditions of cholera and its cure. The direction and ordering of its indicated cure is left to the practice of scientific professors of medicine. The abnormal conditions being known, with the chemical results and action set up thereon, the estimation of all the independent elements helping to establish those abnormal conditions, with the degree to which the chemical results have proceeded, will be needed for the application of the indicated remedies, which again are to be proportioned to the state of the original abnormal conditions, and the degree of the chemical results, and the strength, powers, history, &c., of the patient. If any particular is not understood, or appears to want confirmation, it should be seen if the erroneous comprehension, and imperfect estimation, of the whole very large subject, and defective direction of the cure, should not be charged with it.

To repeat our previous remark;—no one in the present enlightened and scientific age expects a remedy which, as an infallible dose, even if possessing all due fitness, shall, will, and must, and only can, cure, like magic or a charm, in every case of a particular disease. To expect such would be to betray a considerable amount of ignorance. There is no such charm of magical powers, inconsistent with science, physiology, and the pathology of diseased conditions.

Cholera—its conditions of origination, growth, and phenomena, including blood and other complications, and the agents which apply to their cure, are all what may be scientifically ascertained; and practice, and the symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy, be made to illustrate and prove them. This is what is legitimately required on the subject. It will be seen that I meet and explain all the chemical phenomena, the symptoms, the morbid anatomy, and every form of successful empiric treatment of the disease. The subject largely affects the well-being of humanity, the economics of states, and even the status of science; and I submit this paper to the

world of enlightened and advanced medical science with confidence. What I state is scientific truth, with universal confirmation.

CHOLERA; ITS CURE.

1. In the action of cholera, an abnormal and destructive condition is induced by internal and external causes. An action also is set up in the blood tending to its liquefaction and destruction of the red corpuscles. This action may be general.

The symptoms, effects, and morbid anatomy, of the disease are well known.

I shall first note down a few very elementary chemical and physiological observations.

Man absorbs oxygen, and in the process of respiration evolves carbon dioxide CO_2. Together with this gas volatile putrescible matters are exhaled from the skin and lungs. These matters act prejudicially on the health. The gas, too, is poisonous and destructive. CO_2 consists of carbon 27·27 and oxygen 72·73, the volume of CO_2 formed being equal to that of the oxygen used in its formation.

After the lacteals have taken up the fluid portion chyme mixed with bile, the chyle proceeds to the thoracic duct and with the lymph is poured into the *vena cava*, mixes with the venous blood, takes up oxygen, becomes arterial, and is sent forward to all parts, the oxygen being yielded to the effete tissues to oxidise them, while the CO_2 evolved is conveyed back to the lungs and given off by diffusion. By this oxidation the heat of the body is sustained, the combustion taking place in the capillaries, which receive the oxygen carried to them in the arterial blood, and then transmit through the veins the CO_2 evolved to be passed off by the lungs at the same time that a fresh supply of oxygen is taken up. Thus, there is a constant discharge of poison and waste and accession of life-renewing oxygen.

All this implies the previous action of normal bile on normal chyme, and the due and sufficient action of the oxygen on the normal chyle or nutriment presented to it. That is, the normal nutriment must be present, and the normal quantity of oxygen, and the latter must act on the former. Here, then, are three elements, the nutriment, the oxygen, and the contact. If the nutriment be abnormal, or there be less oxygen, or both don't come to the normal standard of contact, that which has to be thrown off as poisonous waste is retained in the constitution, and to its degree disorganises the functions of the kidneys, the lungs, and the skin, and affects the blood, the spleen, and every other organ, portion, and function of the human body.

Of the three elements above-noted, if the nutriment alone is abnormal, while there is a sufficiency of oxygen, and the two have the contact that is necessary, the poison may be worked out. If the nutriment be normal, and there is a sufficiency of contact, but insufficient oxygen, the result may also be made favorable. If the nutriment is normal, and the oxygen is sufficient, there is deficient contact, the constitution may be helped to get over the difficulty.

That is, if we represent the three elements of nutriment, oxygen, and contact, respectively by the letters N, O, and C, and assign positive and negative values for their being normal or abnormal, the positive for the normal, and the negative for the abnormal, we may represent the subject symbolically thus :—

plus N plus C > — N, or — N < plus N plus C
plus N plus C > — O, or — O < plus N plus C
plus O plus N > — C, or — C < plus O plus N

These may be regarded as the standard of safety.

Again :— (O plus C) > plus N, or plus N < — (O plus C)
— (N plus C) > plus O, or plus O < — (N plus C)
— (O plus N) > plus C, or plus C < — (O plus N)

These may be regarded as the standard of danger. That is, normal nutriment sinks in the scale when put against insufficient oxygen and insufficient contact; and insufficient oxygen is outweighed by abnormal nutriment and deficient contact; while a normal contact can be of little efficacy as against a combined deficient standard of nutriment and oxygen.

Again, using the same symbols :—

plus N plus O > or < plus N plus C
plus N plus C > or < plus O plus C
plus N plus O > or < plus O plus C ; and *vice versâ*.

Here the forces stand equalised.

All which may be summarised thus :—

(1) plus N plus O plus C ;—the normal balance and standard of health.
(2) — N plus O plus C
(3) — O plus N plus C ;—recovery probable.
(4) — C plus N plus O
(5) — N — O plus C
(6) — N plus O — C ;—recovery difficult.
(7) — C — O plus N
(8) — C — O — N ; *death*.

To each of from (2) to (7) have to be added or subtracted personal and other elements ; and each of the three elements N, O, C, has varying degrees affecting and varying the result.

II. Let us now return to our chemical and physiologic observations.

All substances present in any part each maintain a certain proportion and each perform a special part, to the requisite performance of which part the proportion is necessary and cannot be disturbed.

Of 1000 parts of blood, there are nearly 790 parts water and nearly 11 parts salts and fatty matter. This is the limit of dilution within which the red corpuscles retain their integrity, for when water is added they immediately become attacked. These red corpuscles, so easily dissolved by water, remain uninjured in the fluid portion of the blood owing to the presence of saline matter. The globules float in a saline liquid in which there is equilibrium between the contents of the globules and the fluid surrounding them. Salt contracts. The corpuscles are insoluble in a strong solution of chloride of sodium.

The blood is invariably alkaline, containing the common phosphate of soda $PO_5 \left\{ \begin{matrix} 2NaO \\ HO \end{matrix} \right\}$, a salt which is always formed when the phosphoric acid of *juice of flesh* acts on the chloride of sodium or salts of soda, and which is strongly alkaline.

The change from dark venous to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen, but also requires the presence of a saline solution. A similar change of colour may be seen taking place *in vacuo* if the clot of venous blood be there covered with a pretty strong solution of various salts.

Soda is as essential to blood, as potash to the *juice of flesh.* Excess of alkali is required to form the blood, to enable it to perform its functions, to promote the oxidation of effete matter. The blood must be alkaline in order to perform its functions, and it is rendered alkaline either by carbonate of soda or by phosphate of soda or by both. Two salts so different in composition as carbonate of soda NaO, CO_2, and phosphate of soda $2NaO,HO, PO_5$ yet closely agree in being alkaline.

In cholera the proper salts of the serum may fall to *one half*, and thus affect the integrity of the red corpuscles. The blood becomes thick and dark in cholera. There is both destruction of the corpuscles and defective oxygenation; there being also transudation of water.

Diet affects the urine in *soluble* salts which are the same as those of the blood; and diet can also modify them in the blood.

III. The bile is always present in the blood in a small proportion. The bile is separated from the blood by the liver, and collected in the gall-bladder. When incinerated, among

ner residuums there is chloride of sodium. The bile is a mixture, in a certain proportion, of two salts, of which the base is soda. Soda is the essential basic element of the bile. The basic element,—the soda is found also in the chyle and in the blood,—and the free muriatic acid always present in the chyme before it leaves the stomach, are both derived from the salt which is either originally present in the food, or is added to it by man.

All food capable of sustaining life must contain mineral salts. These are common salt, alkaline and earthy phosphates, &c. Animals cannot form blood or bile unless their food contain, along with the phosphates, salts of soda, or at least, chloride of sodium. Herbivorous animals which produce an enormous quantity of bile find salt—which is a chief source of sodium or soda for the blood and bile—in their food and drink, and show the greatest preference for salt springs, and for solid salt placed within their reach. When they are fed on the land plants of soils in which sodium is deficient, common salt must be given to them. Animals instinctively take it, and even search for it; nature has made the largest provision of it for all animals including man—even the very breezes blowing over wide oceans are made to carry salt; and its effects on their general health and all their secretions are most marked. Salt generally promotes the secretions. The absence of salt deranges the whole vital process, and particularly the secretion of bile, which requires soda, that is, oxide of sodium. Salt however acts as salt. Salt maintains the normal condition of the fluid portions and elements of the human body.[1]

Lymph has 2 *p. c.* of salts.

Soda, chiefly as chloride of sodium, is formed also in the *juice of flesh.*

IV. The change from dark venous blood carrying poisonous waste to florid arterial blood depends on the presence of oxygen as well as a saline solution.[2]

The oxidation of carbon and hydrogen carries on the vital chemical changes—evolves the CO_2 by the venous blood and secretes water by the lungs, skin, and kidneys—and also yields the animal heat which is generated everywhere, chiefly

[1] Thirty years ago I made a representation to the Government of India to reduce the tax on salt which fell very heavily on the poorest natives, and there was some reduction made; and yet, on this *free gift of nature so essential to the life and health and well-being of man*, that Government still annually raises some ten million of pounds sterling of revenue from taxation of salt alone (!) from the poorest natives imaginable. But what are millions of lives and cholera epidemics to millions of revenue? Salt ought to be free; as free as oxygen and air. Whoever denies it to the poor, ought himself to be deprived of it.

[2] Arterial blood contains about twice as much oxygen and a third less carbonic acid than venous blood.

in the capillaries. This oxidation is constantly going on; every breath of oxygen maintains it, all the tissues and organs and parts are brought under its operation, and all the excretory and secretory organs are kept employed by it.[3]

The characteristic feature of the changes in the animal body when oxygen comes into operation is that the changes strike deeper than when water alone is added, and we obtain the constituents of bile and of urine, as well as CO_2 to be excreted by the lungs. For the formation of albumen, gelatine and chondrine, the chief materials of the tissues, water alone suffices. The acids, too, of bile are products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. Lactic acid, which is present in large quantity in the *juice of flesh*, needs oxygen to consume it. Glucose transformed into lactic acid—which combines with the soda of the blood—needs oxygen to be oxidised and burnt off in the blood. The insoluble uric acid needs oxygen to convert it into soluble products which may pass out. In cholera the urine is stopped. According to Voit there are 2·43 *grammes* of *urea* in 1000 parts of blood of a cholera patient. According to Chaluet 3·60 *grammes* in 1000 parts. [*Gautier:* Chimie Appliqué, *vol. ii., p.* 337.] At the same time salt also is necessary to promote the oxidation of effete matter in the blood. Where there is a deficiency of it we have the uric acid diathesis,—the oxalic acid diathesis being promoted by a little more oxygen but also deficiency of alkali.

Where oxygen is deficient, combustible matter accumulates in the blood beyond due proportion; at the same time the liver is called on to work beyond its powers in secreting bile or forming fat.

The products of the waste tissues are sent out of the body, by the lungs, the skin, the kidneys, and the intestines, and the occurrence of an impediment in any of these, calls into increased action the others, an action that may injure them.

V. We have seen in detail CO_2 blood, bile, other fluids, &c., oxygen, and salt in relation to them all, as they have an internal bearing on cholera. Let us now see some of them, bearing on cholera externally.

Cholera, as a rule, prevails in summer, or under certain conditions of the atmosphere, when there is less oxygen in the

[3] The lungs and skin excrete carbon, with oxygen, as carbonic acid; the kidneys, with nitrogen and oxygen and hydrogen, as urea and uric acid; and the liver, with oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, as cholic and glycocholic acids.

Of 3,950 *grammes of regulated* food and drink Vierordt gives water 2818, oxygen 782 (from air 744 and food 38), carbon 282. Thus, the oxygen is about a fifth part by weight of all the solids and liquids taken as food; and twice as great as all the rest not water. But what if while the oxygen is *less*, the carbon is also *greatly in excess?*

to carry off the oxidised products in the blood. At the same time, owing to the presence of fruits, &c., in excess, the nutriment is affected and the bile disordered.

During a former visitation of cholera in the West, a great fire in a city—which increased the currents of fresh air and of oxygen—was marked by the subsequent cessation of the disease which was raging there at the time. Similarly, in last year 1882 in Manilla cholera was raging when the occurrence of a violent hurricane put a sudden end to the visitation.

The track and course of (Asiatic) cholera has been marked by a diminution of ozone in the air. Ozone is formed when oxygen is charged with electricity. The less electricity the less ozone; the less oxygen the less ozone; the less oxygen the less respiration; the less respiration the less oxygen taken in the less respiration the less CO_2, &c., exhaled, and the more poisonous matter retained, with consequences to the blood, bile tissues, &c.

Here, then, we come back to our symbols N. O. C. Abnormal conditions induced internally in abnormal nutriment [4] with general alkaline deficiency $= -N$. Here are the milder forms of cholera including all preliminary symptoms.[5] This minus N is presented to the O at seasons or circumstances—as in overcrowding, Hindoo and Mahommedan pilgrimages, &c.,—when it is abnormally, that is, is—O. What, then, can be the value of any contact C, when the very elements presented for the contact are in an abnormal condition? The combination of the negative values of the three is death. Of two, Asiatic cholera. The results vary according to combinations and personal and other elements; and include between health and decease all possible and numerous gradations according to the degree of each of the three, and the other elements. Thus, there is an infinite diversity from the strong and healthy man suddenly carried off in three or four hours, with hardly

[4] In connection with this abnormal nutriment, and what it may effect by itself, without other elements of evil, we note that the bile, by its alkalinity, aids the pancreatic fluid in neutralising the acid chyme, and precipitating any imperfectly digested albumin (parapeptone). But in cholera of 1000 parts of serum, 133 part of albumin have been found, whereas the normal average is about 70.

Nitrogen is an essential constituent of the proximate principle of albumin, but does not support combustion and destroys life from the want of oxygen.

Again; mal-assimilation of the albuminous constituents results in the formation of uric acid; and a tendency to mal-assimilation is given by habitual excess in the use of the several constituents of the food which predominates in those taken with cholera.

The blood is freed from its carbon almost entirely by the lungs, and the large quantity of this carbon is known. But what if it be greatly increased, and there is also, *proportionally less salt, increase of acid, &c., and less oxygen?*

Excess of acid in the blood is a disturbance of the vital process. The blood becomes black by contact with acids. The blood is dark and "tarry" in cholera.

[5] See note (7) following.

any evacuation, to the weak, asthmatic patient who struggles easily through an attack for three or four days and comes out recovered at the end. Symptoms, and treatment, are therefore as diversified, and appropriate.

VI. I might stop here, for I am not writing for tyros, but masters and teachers. [6] But a few notes on symptoms, and treatment, may be acceptable.

We have seen the presence of chloride of sodium in the blood, the blood's alkalinity the integrity of the red corpuscles preserved by it, its necessity to enable the blood to carry on the vital functions, its presence and need elsewhere even in the bile and lymph, and the equilibrium of forces—in other words, normal vital electricity—maintained (in conjunction) by it; and we have seen that it may fall even to *one half* in the serum of the blood of a cholera patient. The blood and bile, &c., are ready to do their duty and maintain the vital process if they have enough of oxygen and soda. It is this oxygen and salt we have to supply the body with. Of course, all the symptoms have to be considered; but these strike at the root of the disease. Chemistry, physiology, pathology symptoms, morbid anatomy, all indicate them, and all practice confirms them. The vomiting and purging of cholera is an effort of nature to get rid of the poisons working within, and so re-establish normal conditions. Mild cholera is distinguished from Asiatic cholera by the purging of bilious fœculent matter. In Asiatic cholera the matter ejected from the stomach and bowels is free from bile and colourless. We see the comparative immunity of danger of the former, as the poisons are evacuated; in accordance, too, with the symbolic *formulæ*. (*See* I and V). Hence the general success of the castor oil cure in this form. In the latter Asiatic form, the abnormal conditions are so much more aggravated, or more effective, owing to a number of causes, that the secreting and excreting organs are much disorganised, and disfunctioned; the liver is gorged; the fluid exuded through the mucous membrane of the alimentary canal a token of the general dilution of the fluids, an evidence of the dire contest raging between life and death in the blood, and the desperate effort of nature to maintain the red corpuscles even if by that way—the loss of the vital electric condition, heat, &c. In extreme cases there can be no evacuation at all. As soon as bile re-appears in the motions, a favourable condition is begun. In the pathology and morbid anatomy we find the spleen, a blood gland, bloodless and collapsed. The kidneys are congested. The

[6] Even to these it is possible the proof may not be clear at first. I would recommend such to read the SEQUEL; and then reperuse this carefully. A *thorough* knowledge of medical chemistry is requisite, as well as of the diseases themselves.

ungs are congested, or otherwise severely affected. The liver and gall-bladder gorged with bile. The veins and arteries all alike loaded with thick dark blood. The red corpuscles perished. Urea in the blood. The urinary bladder contracted and empty. All the organs, and all the blood, the vital fluid, have everywhere been engaged in the terrible struggle, the fight between life and death! All the fluids of the body have wanted consistency. The water of the blood has been poured out in a fruitless effort to save the corpuscles. The organs have been required to do others' duties when they were hardly able to meet their own engagements, and all have been placed *hors de combat*. Externally there was collapse. Respiration fell below the average, and was difficult. There was little oxidation, the vital process was stopped, and the temperature may have fallen down to even 72° F.

VII. In the treatment, supply the oxygen or fresh air, as much of it as possible. Maintain the integrity of the red corpuscles, and restrain the outflow of all the fluids by chloride of sodium. These are always sufficient for premonitory symptoms;[7] and are also indicated afterwards. Injections also of solution of salt into the veins effect prompt and marked relief of all the symptoms in the worse stages.[8] The lungs ought to be brought into free play, in increased, or fresh, oxygen. Diffusible stimulants as camphor, and oil of pip. menth., and cayenne, to meet the nervous depression, and opium for a stimulant as well to counteract pain. Of astringents acetate of lead, in very moderate doses. Champagne as a drink, as cold as possible—iced. And external warmth and comfort.

We supply the oxygen to ærate the blood and evolve CO_2, &c.; chloride of sodium to save the blood and fluids, and also work with the oxygen in recovering the vital process; the generation of sulphurous acid SO_2, or a weak solution of it—which absorbs oxygen—to affect the lungs and stomach;

[7] The first General Board of Health in England in the epidemic in 1848 and 1849 accordingly found the evidence unanimous, that cholera was preceded by conditions of generally felt bodily depression, or by premonitory symptoms which admitted of dietetic and medical treatment, which, when combined with or preceded by measures of sanitation which reduced foul atmospheric conditions, was always effectual.

[8] The composition of the following (by M. Marcet) is near that of serum without the functional oxygenation. When used, dissolve and heat the solution to 98° F.

R	Chloride of Soda	grr. xxxi.
	Phosphate	„ v.
	Carbonate	„ vi.
	Sulphate	„ i.
	Distilled Water	oz. x

acetate of lead and opium to restrain immoderate evacuation and moderate suffering; and diffusible stimulants, drinks, warmth, &c., to meet nervous depression and other indications. [9] All work together for the cure, for Nature is one: there is no charm.

The scientific practitioner will graduate and proportion his remedies to particular cases; and the more thorough and accurate his diagnosis under the principles laid down above, the more successful he will be in his treatment if that is also according to what has been indicated above. The appropriateness of all the varied symptoms, and the appropriateness of the varied successful remedies ignorantly and partially applied, will be perceived. I have had the most extended individual practice in this disease in the East; among the helplessly poor and weak, in seasons of epidemics; and in the most hopeless of situations, in ancient, filthy, crowded Hindoo cities, and in crowded buildings. There is of course a stage in which cure is hardly possible, and yet it may be tried. Nature has many surprises and favours for those who go right and follow her scientific truth. A caution about the after-treatment; patients who have actually got over the worst form of cholera have died the next day from the effects of meat-broth.

To conclude:—Cholera is the result of certain internal and external conditons, as shown before, and affects all the various organs and parts; and the constitution can be helped to recover by the supply of oxygen, æration of the blood (and thus production of heat), by chloride of sodium to save the red corpuscles and the balance of all the fluids, by acetate of lead, &c., &c., as shown before;—by the graduated administration of these remedies according to the length and strength of the attack, the elements, and their various degrees, concerned in causing the disease, the powers and history of the patient, external considerations, and every other circumstance necessary.

Note.—The late chemical researches of M. de Luna and his statement about hypoazotic gas confirm the above. See also Part II. SCARLET FEVER, its CURE; from which the following extract is here added:—

"Hence—

{ Defect of carbon or,—and,—excess of oxygen } and „ „ potash or,—and,— „ „ soda }

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

"VII. Our task is over; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet

[9] Assafœtida is a good diffusible stimulant as well as antispasmodic; and *strong tea* may be useful as a *paratriptic* and nerve-restorative.

ver, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formulæ* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coolness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hematofibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when ozone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundancy of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes. The other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a vew hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

"We need not carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above the scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon}\\ \text{and \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad soda \quad or,—and,— \quad ,, \quad ,, \quad potash}\end{array}\right\}$$

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

"I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulæ*, and rigid rule, the truth, and to prove it; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned."

Scarlet Fever: Its Cure.

Sufficient has been said in the preceding part on cholera for me to refrain from adding much here. A cure is not of the nature of a charm; nature is manifold in the human mikrokosmos and marvellous in diversity, as are also symptoms of a disease and remedies, but all agree in one and to one end. The knowledge of any disease requires the most varied, minute, difficult, and intricate, scientific study, united with large and extended practice; and after a disease is fully made known, it is left to scientific practitioners to apply the knowledge varied in every individual instance.

As also in the part on cholera, I need not to describe here the varieties, symptoms, pathology, and morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. I must assume all these to be known.

Without any other observation we may note that here, too, the *formulæ* furnished in cholera may be retained; but for N, nutriment, understanding principally the carbon of it; O for the oxygen; and C the contact of the N and O in the blood, *i. e.*, the oxidation of the carbon of the food. But here it is the excessive contact of the oxygen, and which may imply defective carbon, and not, as in cholera, the deficient contact, that creates the abnormal condition resulting in scarlet fever. Hence these two diseases present, within very nearly the same chemical range, such exactly *balancing*, and sometimes similar, characters; the d fect of the soda of the body in cholera too, being replaced in escarlet fever by the defect of the potash; and the death of the corpuscles in cholera in one way, by their death in scarlet fever in another way. Let us now see these things more particularly.

I. Becquerel and Rodier furnish the following as the mean composition of male blood:—

Water ...	...	...	...	779·00
Fibrin ...	...	...	...	2·20
Fatty matters ...	...	...	...	1·60
Albumen ...	...	...	...	69·40
Corpuscles ...	...	...	...	141·10
Salts, &c. ...	...	...	...	6·80
Iron ...	...	...	...	0·57
In blood there is of serum	... 87	or	serum...	869·15
clot ...	... 13		clot ...	130·85
	100			1000·00

Of the serum 869·15	there is water		790·37
	albumen		67·8
	salts, &c.		10·98
			869·15
Of the clot 130·85	there is globules (albumen, and fibrine) ...		125·63
	hematosine		2·27
	separate fibrine		2·95
			130·85

Take also the following once for all occasions in also subsequent sections, noting the carbon :—

Components.	*Albumen.*	*Fibrin.*
Carbon	... 55·46 (atoms 216)	... 54·45 (atoms 216)
Hydrogen	.. 7·20 („ 169)	... 7·07 („ 169)
Nitrogen	.... 16·48 („ 27)	... 17·21 („ 27)
Oxygen	... 18·27 („ 68)	... 19·35 („ 68)
Sulphur	... 2·16 („ 2)	... 1·59 („ 2)
Phosphorus	.. 0·43	... 0·33

Note in both, the proportion of carbon. Excessive oxidation, by using up all the carbon, destroys the albumen. The microscopic character of mucus and albumen corpuscles are both identical. They vary under different pathological conditions of the patient. Their difference is in the composition of the fluid in which the particles float. Albumen is soluble in potash. Phosphoric acid, too, has a decided solvent action on it. Nitric and hydrochloric acids precipitate it, and nitrate of silver also affects it.

II. We see also in the above analysis the proportion of fibrin in the blood. If moist, fibrin is digested in a solution of nitrate of potash containing a little soda, at a temperature of about the blood (a little higher), it gradually becomes converted into a substance in almost every respect identical with albumen. In inflammatory diseases the proportion of fibrin goes up as high as 10 in 1000. The coagulation of blood is due to fibrin previously dissolved becoming insoluble, and forming a fine network or jelly, in which the globules are enclosed, as may be seen from the morbid anatomy of scarlet fever. The coagulation of blood presents the same fibrinous aspect as when blood is drawn and exposed to the oxygen. Coagulation is retarded for a considerable time by a strong solution of nitrate of potash, or of muriate of ammonia ; and fibrin, after blood has been allowed to coagulate, is gradually dissolved by the latter.

Hematofibrin is formed from gelatine and choleic acid= albumen and water :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. hematofibrin} \\ + \ 18 \text{ „ water} \end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix} 3 \text{ eqs. gelatine} \\ 1 \text{ „ choleic acid.} \end{matrix}\right.$$

Consequently, loss of bile, as albumen in a state of conversion

is bile (and gelatine), which loss occurs in scarlet fever, mean non-renewal, non-supply, of fibrin.

III. Choleic acid fully oxidised will yield as follows :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. choleic acid} \\ + \ 144 \text{ ,, oxygen} \end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. ammonia} \\ + \ 2 \text{ ,, sulphuric acid} \\ + \ 52 \text{ ,, carbonic ,,} \\ + \ 42 \text{ ,, water} \end{matrix}\right\} \text{ All ultimate products of oxidation.}$$

And cholic acid :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. choleic acid} \\ + \ 122 \text{ ,, oxygen} \end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix} 1 \text{ eq. ammonia} \\ + \ 52 \text{ ,, carbonic acid} \\ + \ 40 \text{ ,, water.} \end{matrix}\right.$$

These acids are the products of the destruction of sanguigenous matter by the oxygen of the blood. The colouring matter of the bile exhibits changes connected with the formation or destruction of the bile; and we know that blue colouring matters are turned green by alkalis, and red by acids. A red colouring matter is turned green by alkalis, and is also very fugitive. It is also soluble in water and alcohol. Bile may be decolourised by dissolving it in absolute alcohol to separate mucus, and digesting the alcoholic solution with animal charcoal till the colour is removed.

We may note here also the oxidation of albumen :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix} 4 \text{ eqs. albumen} \\ + \ 40 \text{ ,, water} \\ + 224 \text{ ,, oxygen from the air} \end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix} 4 \text{ eqs. choleic acid} \\ + \ 8 \text{ ,, choleic acid} \\ + \ 12 \text{ ,, urea} \\ + \ 26 \text{ ,, carbonic acid} \end{matrix}\right.$$

$$= \left\{\begin{matrix} 4 \text{ eqs. albumen} \\ + \ 40 \text{ ,, water} \\ + \ 32 \text{ ,, oxygen from the air} \\ + 192 \text{ ,, oxygen} \\ \left.\begin{matrix} 6 \text{ margarine} \ \ldots \\ 12 \text{ water} \ \ldots \end{matrix}\right\} = 20 \text{ eqs. sugar.} \end{matrix}\right.$$

Thus (20 eqs.) sugar yields both fat and oxygen. Sugar is a source whence blood may obtain oxygen when respiration is impeded.

IV. The juice of flesh is uniformly, or more frequently, acid. The acids present are lactic acid in large quantity, phosphoric acid, and other acids. The bases are potash in large proportions both as phosphate, lactate, inosinate, etc., and as chloride of potassium; soda in much smaller quantity, chiefly as chloride of sodium, etc. The composition of flesh is :—

$$\left.\begin{matrix} \text{Water} \ \ldots \ \ldots \ 78 \\ \text{Fibrin, \&c.} \ \ldots \ \ldots \ 17 \\ \text{Albumen \&c.} \ \ldots \ \ldots \ 5 \end{matrix}\right\} = 100$$

Acid tribasic phosphate of potash $PO_5 \left\{\begin{matrix} KO \\ {}_2HO \end{matrix}\right\}$ exists in large proportion in the juice of flesh, chiefly contributing to its acidity, and is produced by phosphoric acid acting on chloride of potassium or salts of potash. Just as soda is essential to blood, potash is essential to juice of flesh. As excess of

alkali is required to form the blood to enable it to perform its function of destroying the tissues by oxidations, so phosphoric acid in excess is required for the production of the tissues. In scarlet fever, where there is great oxidation, a plentiful supply of potash is needed,—also to solve fibrin.

V. Animal heat is promoted by everything that increases the supply of oxygen, as increased respiration, as in children from running about; or cold with abundant food, or warm clothing, both of which exist in and immediately following winter, the period for scarlet fever, and children and the young form the subjects of attack. Carbon and hydrogen are the chief sources of animal heat in their oxidation; that is, oxygen acting on starch, sugar, and fat, the principal food of the young. The proportion of carbon to nitrogen, which furnishes no combustion, is as great in all the *excretæ* as in albumen, or even greater. And the albumen, from which fibrin is made, is destroyed from the deficiency of carbon, which is rapidly oxidised in scarlet fever. We may also remember that uric acid, which is apt to be secreted in fever, is dissolved in moderately dilute potash.

VI. We thus see albumen a chief constituent of the body, and carbon of it; fibrin from it; and fibrin and albumen destroyed in scarlet fever. A deficiency of carbon affects both albumen and fibrin; or excessive oxygen and oxidation, which produces the deficiency. Potash is the great base of the juice of flesh; and potash acts on both albumen and fibrin. The bile supplies the carbon, but is oxidised by excess of oxygen to produce its acids, and hence bile and acids are equally lost in scarlet fever.

Hence—

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Defect of carbon or,—and,—excess of oxygen}\\ \text{and \quad ,, \quad ,, potash or,—and,— \quad ,, \quad ,, soda}\end{array}\right\}$$

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of scarlet fever; and the cure. The equation is perfect.

VII. Our task is over; but it is interesting to observe the *balancing* parallelism and analogy between cholera and scarlet fever, one illustrating and confirming the other. We have already shown how the cholera *formulæ* may be applied here, and we proceed to other points. In scarlet fever the temperature rises to even 112° F., the pulse is even 130, there is great surface heat, and an external eruption; in cholera the temperature goes down to even 72° F., the pulse is hardly perceptible, there is great coldness of surface, and an internal exudation. In the one the tissues are relaxed, and the tendency is to dropsy; in the other the tissues are collapsed, and the sequel is fever. In the one excess of oxidation and deficiency of carbon; in the other deficiency of oxidation and excess of

carbon. In the one the bile is emptied and lost; in the other the bile is full to congestion. In the one the juice of flesh is affected because there is deficiency of potash and excess of soda; in the other the vital fluid is affected because there is deficiency of soda and excess of potash. In the one there is destruction of albumen; in the other accession of it. In the one the hematofibrin solidifies through excess of oxygen and soda and defect of carbon; in the other the blood corpuscles perish through excess of carbonic acid and potash and defect of oxygen. In the one the upper air-vessels are seized; in the other the lower intestines. The one appears when oxone is excessive and carbon deficient; the other when ozone is deficient and carbon excessive. The one appears when there is a want of vegetables and fruits; the other when there is a superabundancy of them. The one shows in winter or early spring; the other in summer or early autumn. The one is unknown in the sultry plains of torrid climes; the other is unknown in very cold and elevated regions. The one has its *habitat* in cold climates; the other has its *locale* in hot climates. The one in bad cases shows a skin vividly scarlet; the other in the worst cases almost dark blue. The one should be treated with chlorate of potash, carbon (a vegetable diet), and coolness, etc.; the other with chloride of sodium, oxygen, warmth, etc. Both the diseases present every degree of severity between the mild and malignant forms, as even in scarlet fever sometimes the patient sinks at once and irretrievably under the virulence of the attack, and life is extinguished in a few hours. In both the fatality depends on the type of the prevailing epidemic. Both assume an epidemic existence.

We need not to carry on the parallelism and analogy any further. It is perfect like the equation furnished above for scarlet fever, which equation also, to make the parallelism still more remarkable, may be applied for cholera with the changes implied in the parallel; thus:—

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Defect of oxygen or,—and,—excess of carbon} \\ \text{and ,, ,, soda or,—and,— ,, ,, potash}\end{array}\right\}$$

furnish us with all the blood and other symptoms of cholera, and the cure. This equation, too, is perfect.

I have impressed the abstract sciences of logic and mathematics, and the physical sciences of chemistry, physiology, pathology, morbid anatomy, and the observation and practice of disease, to discover, by *formulæ*, and rigid rule, the truth, and to prove it; and this, notwithstanding *lacunæ* to the unlearned.

PHYSICIAN.

THE QUARTER.

SOUTH AFRICA.—Who thinks or who cares about South Africa? This question might well have been one that any one would have been justified in asking even a couple years back. India certainly then was the pivot, as Lord Curzon expressed it, on which the external empire and greatness of England moved. But now, and for two years past, the Boer "War," as it has been called, has excluded every other matter from the public ken. Even our important Indian dominion, and the immensely-important empire of China, have taken a second place. A series of huge political blunders in the treatment of a small tribe of remote Dutchmen,—who desired to be let alone to manage their own affairs in their own way, who professed a faith akin to that of Great Britain, and who were gradually rising to the light of English civilisation by the education of her best sons in English Universities,—perpetrated by a man innocent of the old high traditions of British policy, wanting in a sense of the proportion of things, and even of the culture imparted by University training and the associations of high birth, who had pushed himself to the front in the Cabinet through the opportunity afforded by the Home Rule question and the weakness of the Duke of Devonshire, and dominated his fellow-Ministers,—to the surprise of every one except "the man in the street,"—has almost entirely altered, and certainly entirely obscured, the true view of the world's politics, and launched England into a costly war without profit and without glory, preventing her from taking her proper position in the great and far-reaching questions affecting China and Russia and, in consequence, India, which have come up to the front, and which may be said to have been decided in favor of Russia. To enter into all the causes which led to the South African question assuming importance a few years back—from the general "scramble" for Africa initiated by Germany's acquisition of Damaraland and German East Africa, to the Jameson Raid and the falseness of the "Right Hon'ble" Mr. Rhodes to the duties of his high offices as Premier of Cape Colony, and a "Privy Councillor,"—which may remind us that we are at present literally sowing broadcast this hitherto rigidly guarded, most responsible, and most-highly esteemed, honor and privilege to anyone and everyone,—is not our work here. Neither have we the time, space, and occasion, to trace the Chinese troubles, from Germany's seizure of Kiaou-Chaou, and

her course of duplicity in openly moving with England and secretly working with Russia, to the latest development of Russia acquiring Manchuria, and England retiring from the scene, with Germany left in possession of the field. Were the whole of South Africa to be drowned under the depths of the sea to-morrow, there would not be the slightest loss politically to the great world. The true centre of gravity in Africa is Egypt—and that because of India and the East—and England's loss of her usual political vision must be keenly felt alike by our Viceroy and the eminent soldier Governor-General of the Soudan now shut up in a far obscure corner engaged in destroying the independence of a small race akin to us in blood and language. (We write with perfect knowledge, for the South African Boers are partly British both in blood and language.) Nay, in "wiping out" their very existence! Again asserting without the least doubt that India is the centre of gravity of England's foreign and external empire and her position among nations and that Russia and China have an intimate bearing on India,—that Russian domination in China spells the passing away of England's dominion in India,—we are perforce compelled, owing to the continued "Brummagem" sway of "the man in the street" (the most ominous sign of the times) in English politics, to view South Africa and its trumpery concerns first. How have things gone on there during the period that has elapsed since we last viewed the subject? The answer is, we are still but holding on to the lines of communications—and barely even that—and the principal towns and a few strategic points while making great plundering movements with detached columns. The Boer "Governments" still exist, and have even their recognised "capitals." The Boer forces, even if diminished, still take our smaller "posts," beleaguer us in parts for months, and even assemble bodies of five thousand men to give us battle! Commandos still are raiding in Cape Colony—it is asserted even that De Wet is again with them—and even an invasion again of Natal is planned by Botha! Our troops are still being thinned at the rate of one officer and ten men a day by the operations of the enemy, and one hundred men a day by the operations of typhoid. We are still drafting large bodies of fresh troops—now procured with difficulty—from Home. And with England "staggering" under the imposition of heavy and unusual taxes, we are still throwing away, a million-and-a half every week on this reprehensible and, at present causeless, struggle. Nay, things are even worse than before, for the Plague has now established itself in South Africa and has even entered into the ranks of our soldiery. And besides this, a wise and humane attempt of the great and eminent British

soldier in command to induce the surrender of Botha and the Boer "Governments," which had well nigh succeeded, was quickly frustrated and rendered nugatory by Mr. Chamberlain, confirming the Boers in their determination to further prolong the struggle to the utmost. We cannot arrive at understanding the true position, military and political, by being blind to the truth. Our telegrams have been woefully "censored and doctored" even from the beginning of the "War"—and even previous to it!—to suit the purposes of "party" and the "man in the street" at home. The Boer "Ultimatum"—a piece of undoubted folly—was largely and prominently set forth, but what led to it, and how it was forced on the Boers, were carefully concealed. War facts which told for the Boers, and against us, were carefully excluded. Calumnies and slanders, and even falsehoods, were scattered broadcast to rouse "the man (or hooligan) of the street," and even the indignation of Englishmen. Even to the present day, that there exist the Boer "Governments," and armies operating under different leading Boer Commanders; that the great portion of the Transvaal is still almost unvisited by our troops; that we hold only some towns and the lines of communications—too often interrupted—, that Cape Colony is actually under invasion, and that our men and officers are being decimated at the rate of ten of the former and one of the latter every day by the enemy, and at the rate of a hundred every day by illness and disease, that the Boers would readily submit if only treated fairly and honorably;—all these naked truths are carefully concealed. There will doubtless be a rude awakening, of how the nation has been deceived, befooled and led astray, and there are signs that the awakening process has begun, and that "the man in the street" will be ejected from ruling in the councils of the nation and deciding its politics. But, alas! who will restore to us the tens of thousands of brave soldiers we have lost? Who will restore to us our *prestige* which has been so sadly diminished? Who will pay back the two hundred millions sterling cost of the "War?" Who will restore us the position we have lost in China?—that means, in Asia? Not all the Chamberlains and Colonial "Premiers" in the world, nor all the "men of the street"—and the music halls. We have said that to understand where we are, the true position, we must not be blindfolded and misled as to facts. Take only the following few brief lines which dribble out occasionally in spite of the censorship:—"General French's column is suffering great hardships;" "Schalkburger is carrying on the Boer Government at Totesburg Pit, in Middleburg District, east of Pretoria, which has long been the principal supply depôt of the Commandos;" "Rustenburg, with a garrison of 1,500, about

half way between Mafeking and Pretoria, has been practically invested for nearly three months;" "Zeerust (30 miles north-east of Mafeking) telegrams show that it was still blockaded by the Boers;" "DeLarey, with 5,000 men, has occupied a strong position in the hills, with General Babington in close touch, who was not sufficiently strong to attack;" "British casualties during April were 8 officers killed and 20 wounded, 122 men killed and 206 wounded" (or at the rate of one officer and ten men a day!); "Eastern and Western Transvaal again being massed with the enemy and General Campbell harassed by 1,000 Boers with four guns;" "Boers, with four guns, including a 12-pounder Creuzot, thrice attacked General Bullock's column, and all efforts to capture their guns failed"; "Botha left Ermelo on the 15th instant (May), marching eastwards;" "Boers active in Cape Colony, and fighting has occured in the Districts of Graaf Reinet, Steynsburg, and Barkly East"; "De Wet is rumoured to be again in Cape Colony;" "Vanreenan has led another Boer force into Cape Colony, and has reached Zuurberg;" "Sir Bindon Blood (who replaced General French, who has been invalided), has renewed his operations in the Eastern Transvaal against the main gathering of the Boers under Botha;" "100 men of the 5th Lancers were surrounded and captured;" "Botha and Viljoen have joined forces and are occupying Carolina, on the Pretoria Delagoa Railway;" and a great many others similar, including almost daily derailments and captures of trains. Lord Kitchener himself writes, that "his constant endeavour has been to improve his fortifications and works on the lines of communication, and, by evacuating certain posts, to increase the mobile columns," and that Botha's plan to invade Natal had been narrowly foiled by General French's sweeping movement. General Penn Symons to die first, and General French to leave last, of how many of our best Generals, including such names as those of Yule, Warren, Buller, Colville, and others (Baden-Powell too has gone!) South Africa has been their grave, literally or metaphorically. And yet, while the *Times* can say that we should send fresh troops (!) and letters from its correspondents show that unless the "war" is finished by September it will continue for another year!—and Sir Alfred Milner can write that "loyal South Africa is sick to death of the war, which has brought ruin to many of them, and imposed considerable sacrifices on almost all," and that "it is no use denying that the last half year has been one of *retrogression:* seven months ago this (Cape) Colony was perfectly quiet as far as the Orange River; the southern half of the Orange River Colony (the Free State) was rapidly settling down, and even a considerable portion of the Transvaal, notably

the South-Western Districts, seemed to have definitely accepted British authority ;—to-day the scene is completely altered ;" —(and England been obliged to take a back seat in China); —Mr. Chamberlain, with his orchid in his buttonhole, can have the effrontery—in his native pinchbeck and shoddy Birmingham—to publicly speak about the "mandate" and "opinion" of "the people" not having changed in the slightest degree, and fool young and silly women, in a speech at a Women's Meeting elsewhere by promising them plenty of husbands in South Africa "after the War!" Whether the much-enduring British nation will stand much longer such unblushing, and even criminal effrontery, and befooling, is a question. It is only the disunion of the Opposition,—Lord Rosebery's ambition to *posè* as chief regardless of old experience, good work, and better claims,—that keeps the effete party now in power, headed by an infirm statesman, in office for a day. Meantime, "acts of rebellion" are notified in the Cape *Gazette* to be removed from the mild penalties of the Special Tribunals Act, and hangings and long penal sentences —which will probably at last rouse up the Cape Dutch—are taking their place. Lord Kitchener, too, has had grave differences with Sir Alfred Milner, who has returned home, as said, for a few months. Altogether, with Chamberlain in charge of the cooking, and keeping up the fire, we have as pretty a kettle-full of fish as can be desired, or possible. We have answered the question of what about South Africa and the Boer "War?" and we trust we have shown the true position of affairs there. Mr. Merriman, an Englishman, but a Boer Peace-Delegate, speaking the other day in Edinburgh, said all that the Boers wanted, was an honorable peace, with self-government such as Canada enjoys, all South Africa to be united, and under the protection of England. Is this too much to grant to people whom we wish to become one with us in the future, and who have made good their claims to even exceptionable honorable treatment? Is not this what we really want? Is not this the "mandate?" But if this be granted Chamberlain's "occupation will be gone," and the "Khaki" Ministry will fall ; *therefore* the "War" must be kept on to the loss of England's brave troops in South Africa, and of England's power and *prestige* in the Far East, and to the possible extinction of the Boer race kindred with our own, and if not, to a forced but hollow submission rendering certain future rebellions and outbreaks. We pass from this very painful subject, to one, its direct consequence, still more painful, the loss of our leading position in China, and the rising supremacy of the Russians and Germans there —leading to the most serious ultimate consequences for India—this great and fine Empire which we have

taken centuries to build up, and which is civilising and raising a fifth of the globe's population.

THE CHINESE EMBROGLIO.—Our remark, in the last Quarter's Notes, that an alliance with Germany in Chinese matters, may cost us too dear, has already been verified. We may say that it has cost us China, and what that implies in reference to India we should not like to express. Let us proceed in the order of events in the Far East. After burning, butchering and plundering as much as possible—charges from which the Americans and Japanese are free, and from which the others have attempted to free themselves—long drawn consultations between the representatives of Europe present in Pekin and the Chinese Court resulted in a number of executions, and some agreement as to the amount of the indemnity. Prince Tuan and General Tungfoo Tsiang escaped, and set up a rebellion on their own account and are yet at large with a considerable body of troops. One by one the powers withdrew from the "Concert," leaving Germany with England tied hard and fast to her. Troops also began to be withdrawn, the Americans and Japanese going first. Of those that remained, there was much disgraceful rowdiness displayed by the French towards the British, kept under only by the superior authority of the officers; a German sabred an English officer; and the Russians and British nearly came to an open rupture in connection with some railway land at Tientsin. Meanwhile, Count Waldersee, whether to justify his position, or to keep his Germans in trim, or by orders from home, kept on harassing the Chinese with incessant expeditions. We learnt only subsequently that his masterstroke, to make a cat's-paw of the British by sending an expedition commanded by General Gaselee to Singanfoo, which we referred to last Quarter, was foiled only by the refusal of the British Cabinet direct from home. In some of these small expeditions, the Germans did not always fare very well, and in one, would probably have been severely handled by the Chinese, but for the accidental presence of the French. The Germans have indeed been so "active," that they have created a perfect state of anarchy. Amid all these minor and major troubles the Imperial Palace, in which Count Waldersee had taken up his comfortable quarters, as if refusing to be further degraded, took fire one night, and while one German General, Schwarzhoff, was burnt to death, Count Waldersee himself escaped in his night clothes with the greatest difficulty after receiving what is described as a "considerable shock." Finally, certain forts were to be dismantled, a suitable permanent guard for the Legations was fixed on, and some reforms promised in the Chinese mode of Government. All seemed to be at an end. But it was the end only of the First Act. The

Second opened with Russia making a separate treaty with China about Manchuria. This was stoutly opposed by England and Japan. The latter even showed her teeth, made grandiose speeches in her Parliament, fussed about military preparations, and finally subsided owing to being practically bankrupt and unable to raise a loan. In reference to England, Russia threw in her teeth her going behind the other Powers to make an agreement with Germany. Such has been the result of Lord Salisbury's supposedly-clever but sneaking policy! Or, was it the policy of the German Emperor, by which he worked for, and with, Russia, while hood-winking England? Count von Bulow declared in his home Parliament that "the Anglo-German Agreement did not refer to Manchuria, and there was no antagonism between Russia and Germany in China." Of course not. Only our British statemen are so tied hand and foot with South Africa, or are so easily hood-winked with a little show of seeming cordiality by Kaisar William, that they dare not, or cannot, see. Japan unable to act, and Germany refusing to do so, England has withdrawn from her position, and also recalled her troops. As the conclusion of Act the Second, Manchuria remains to Russia, Japan is revenging herself with small experiments in Corea, America is clean out of the game (as was always to be expected), Germany remains in strength, and so does France, and Great Britain leaves. The Third Act opens with our power and *prestige* gone in China, with the Russians strengthening their forces and their fleet, with Germany in force, and with her fleet watching her (!) interests on the Yang-tze, and with the French, too, in force. The last report, as we write, is that Count Waldersee has been suddenly recalled home. The question may arise, why? Is he wanted in Europe? What significance had the astute German Emperor's late speech about if a war should come, he had a "great Ally in Heaven?"(!) We may view this question a little further when noticing Germany below.

The nett result so far of our share in the Chinese embroglio is that Germany, France and Russia, remain in force on the field; that we leave after a cost of £4,000,000, and being rebuffed by Russia, and abandoned by America; nothing really settled in China, Prince Tuan still at large and powerful, and the Boxers again becoming active.

The conclusion of the Third Act is not yet; meanwhile, knowing the Chinese well, we endorse every word that Sir Robert Hart with his ripe knowledge says of them, when he writes, that "they have more respect for justice than any other nation; that they are well-behaved, law-abiding, intelligent, economical, and industrious; they can learn anything and do any-

thing; they are punctiliously polite, they worship talent, and they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think it requires to be supported or inforced by might; they delight in literature, and everywhere they have their literary clubs and coteries for hearing and discussing each other's essays and verses, they possess and practise an admirable system of ethics, and they are generous, charitable, and fond of good works; they never forget a favour; they make rich return for any kindness, and though they know money will buy service, a man must be more than wealthy to win public esteem and respect; they are practical, teachable, and wonderfully gifted with common sense; they are excellent artisans, reliable workmen, and of a good faith that everyone acknowledges and admires in their commercial dealings."

It is to destroy such a nation that Germany has been bent for some time, but the engineer may be "hoist with his own petard."

OTHER COUNTRIES.—France has not only made her presence prominent in China, but has made real progress in Europe. She has drawn closer to Italy, which has long been kicking apainst the lead of Germany. She has also united herself to Russia in the Chinese policy of the latter, M. Delcasse having paid a special visit to St. Petersburg, and maintains her forces in the Far East ready to act should occasion arise. A trifling fanatical outbreak in a village in Algeria, magnified by the press patronized by "the man in the street" into an Algerian rising, was summarily and easily suppressed even as we should do with a similar "Mad" Moulvi in Allahabad! A strike, which threatened to become formidable, in Marseilles, too, has happily ended. The *Marseilles Hymn* had actually been sung!

Germany, too, has moved forward considerably after another sense. Her interest centres in the Kaisar's sayings and doings, who seems to be as absolute in Germany as the Czar in Russia. The clever "dodge"—we can call it nothing else—by which he got Count Waldersee to be recognised as Commander-in-Chief in China, was repudiated by all the other Powers save England, and even England at the last, on the occasion of the intended move on Singanfoo, threw it over. So Germany having created as much desolation and anarchy in North China as possible, is still there in force, along with France and Russia. The last move of Germany in China is sending a fleet of four war-vessels to watch her interests on the Yangstze! (England still remains in Shanghai.) What double game is in the Kaisar's mind in regard to China,—for she has openly sided with Russia in regard to Manchuria,—it is impossible for us to say. But

e—as we write—rumoured recall of Count Waldersee, and he Kaisar's late speech in regard to his "Great Ally in Heaven,"—his words were, "should we be surrounded by foes and have to fight in a minority against superior numbers, he had a Great Ally in Heaven,"—lead us to view the double game he has long been playing in Europe. Russia is well known to be united to France (and France to Russia) as against an attack from Germany. Meantime Germany cannot afford to break with Russia just at present owing to various reasons, the chief of which is the doubt of its strength to do so as against France and Russia combined. Another reason is the continued life of the Emperor Francis Joseph who holds the various German and other elements in the Austrian Empire together. The Kaisar looks forward to the Emperor's death as affording him the opportunity of incorporating German-Austria in the German Empire—probably guaranteeing Hungary a separate existence, thus becoming the great Central European Empire, *and inheriting Austria's title to Constantinople.* Hence, too, his playing with the "sick" Turk, and looking even beyond to Asia Minor. His support of Abdul Aziz also means the latter's support—which is very doubtful—of him in the event of a war with Russia should it occur before his designs are complete to absorb Austria and inherit tTurkey's possessions. It is a great dream, no doubt, to ex end his empire from the Baltic to Baghdad. But he is quite capable of dreaming such a dream ; only circumstances must be favourable to carry it out, and he will have to fight hard for it. It is only this supposition that explains his pretended moving along with England, and his keeping Russia in play. We are afraid, however, that for such another "kettleful of fish" England's common sense will revolt, and his insane ambition will have no support from us, unless Russia has before that insanely gone into a war with us. Just as it is England's interest to keep out of European complications—even if Constantinople be involved—so it is to Russia's interest, if she is to successfully thwart the Kaisar's ambition, to remain on good terms with us. And that Russia is aware of the Kaisar's mad ambition is unquestionable from the way she also is playing with Germany. On the whole the outlook is a most extraordinary one, a convulsion that will shake Europe to its centre. Insanity is supposed to be hereditary in the Hohenzollern family, and also ambition and *cunning*, and the present Kaisar has his full share of the latter. But the Powers have begun to find him out, and the war-that-is-to-be may be begun before the death of the Fmperor Francis Joseph. Hence the speech we quote—which appears to be wrung from him—and the reference to being "surrounded by foes and fighting in a

minority against superior numbers"—Italy, too, being detached from him. We will only trust that England's eyes will be opened to her false and time-serving "ally." Should the Kaisar succeed in his project of absorbing Central Europe, and extending the German Empire from the Baltic to Baghdad with a navy immensely strengthened, the next step will be to strike at England!

Russia has made the most solid progress politically of any power. She has strengthened herself immensely on the Pacific and acquired the vast country of Manchuria, dominating China on the North. She has also almost got over her trouble with Finland. Some students' riots have been suppressed, and a more liberal policy in regard to them announced by the Czar. The officials who are retrogressive, the Jews, and Count Tolstoi, are answerable for all the internal troubles of Russia. We cannot understand how it is that Tolstoi can be allowed to stay even in Russia. Finally, Russia has gone in for a loan of sixteen millions sterling.

Italy has begun well with her new King; and at the same time is beginning to see that her best interests lie in unity with France and not a military alliance with Germany.

Turkey has been peculiarly unfortunate in again trying to bring the combined Powers of Europe down upon her. She interfered with the Foreign Mails, and the Ministers had to employ their own messengers. Finally, Turkey had to climb down, and offered an apology. On the face of this we cannot understand the declaration of Lord Lansdowne that we were determined on reparation, while a fleet too is proceeding to Salonika. The fleet may proceed there for other purposes. At all events we are not, as we write, yet completely informed as to details, and Abdul Aziz's friend, the German Kaisar, was unable to help him to carry out his design to "censor" and supervise the Foreign Mails. Another unfortunate occurrence was a powerful shock of earthquake which disturbed and broke up a public audience of the Sultan. Taking occasion of this his very particular friend, the German Kaisar (who has, as we have shown, an eye to Constantinople and the rich inheritance of the "sick man"), sent him congratulations for his safety! What we must also regard as an unfortunate occurrence for Turkey, is that the Sultan has despatched an Ottoman Mission to China to enter into relations with the Mussalmans there! We are told that Russia has throughout been opposed to the Mission, but Germany favours it. This move of Turkey, even if encouraged by Germany in it, is most unwise. In the first place the Chinese Government will simply scout it, and send it back without any result, tantamount to an insult. But Turkey periodically invites these insults and humiliations, as

witness the hardly-closed incident regarding the Foreign Mails. In the second place, being an Imperial Mission with several military members in it, it is really an attempt under the plea of religion to gain some sort of political footing beyond Turkish waters, to which the British have hitherto confined the Turk. There was an instance during one period of the Achinese War in Sumatra when the Turks wished to send a war-vessel to aid their Malay co-religionists, but Great Britain would not permit the interference. The time may be favourable for the Turk to extend his political influence under the patronage of his (self-interested) German friend, but the last word will always lie with Russia and England, even in China. On the whole, it is an unfortunate revelation of what the Turk is, and almost a disclosing of Germany's game. Nothing good can come of it. Finally, the "Macedonian Committee" is again active, showing a further diminution of Turkey's rule at no distant date, for that is what the Austrian Prime Minister's speech on a late occasion implies. It is quite possible that these troubles will hasten the end of Turkey, and force the German Kaisar's hand before its time. On the whole, things in Europe all over do not look very reassuring, and we must be thankful that England is out of it, and at all events strong enough to make her decision heard. Lord Salisbury's warning recently that she would not be defied, had perhaps a deeper reference than to the mere passing Boer troubles. We may close our review of Europe by adding that Spain is full of revolutionary and anarchist troubles. And in the midst of all, the charming Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has given her hand with her heart to Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg—Schwerin, and the Dutch are all very satisfied by it, as they well may.

Turning to Asia, exclusive of India and China which we review separately, Japan is bankrupt, and has (as yet) wisely forborne declaring war against Russia. She is, however, making small bites at Corea. Corea evidently allows it, and at the same time wanting money and not being able to get it, dismisses Mr. McLeavy Brown of the customs. The Hermit kingdom is a remarkable one, and our readers will find it very pleasantly described in an article we publish in this issue on the *Eastward Route Home*—the reading of which will, we believe, induce many of our Service readers with a little time on their hands to also go there when taking long leave. Our Viceroy, as is well known, has already been there, and spent some of his most enjoyable travel days there. Siam is moving ahead in—Buddhism, and Palace-building. Cabul's Amir has written a book setting forth his own manifold virtues, and his great desire to be more liberally

treated, both politically and financially (!) by the British. His appetite is evidently growing on what it feeds, and we all, by this time, ought to know the Cabulee character. It is essentially that of the Israelite (not "without guile") whose lineal race-descendent he is. At the present moment he seems to be laid up by his old enemy the gout, and his sons are carrying on the government. Arabia, not to be outdone by the rest of the world, has gone in for a military diversion—a great tribal fight—on her own account. The powerful Koweit chief invaded Nejd, sacked it, then had to retreat, and finally had to escape with only a few followers! The Turkish Vullee of Baghdad thought of interfering, but did not—perhaps wisely. Meanwhile Arabia is agitating to have a railway from Jeddah to Mecca for the pilgrims, and sums of money all over the Moslem world are being collected for the purpose. This railway will let day-light into Arabia with a vengeance! But imagine Arabia having a railway line before enlightened Persia, and our wise Ally the Amir who can talk about "politics!" From Asia to the South Seas, or Africa, is no great step, and in the former a distinguished millionaire Hanoverian Scientist named Menke has been caught, roasted and eaten by the cannibals, whereat the German Emperor became "furious" according to his wont, and ordered a gun-boat at once to "burn, slay, and destroy." The Rev. Mr. Chalmers, one of the oldest and most successful Missionaries in New Guinea, has also been killed and eaten. In Somaliland a "Mad" Mullah has got a following of some 10,000 men, and both the British and Abyssinians have been unable to deal with him. A British expedition also against the Ogaden-Somalis has been turned back. Our African troubles are evidently not confined to the southern portion of the continent. It is very possible that these Somali affairs are the direct result of the batch of so-called "Abyssinians" taken to Rhodesia to work under a practical system of slavery some time back. Meantime, the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines are wanting Chinese labour! Plague has gained a footing in Cape Colony, and we are afraid has established itself there, and the ravages are yet to come. In South America a Monarchist conspiracy in the Navy has been nipped in the bud; and Venezuela is assuming a high tone with the United States, erstwhile her protector as against England.

ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES.—From the seething mass of war, desolation, confusion and misery in the outside world we turn with a feeling of relief to view our own inheritance. Canada has, as usual, been spouting perfervid loyalty to the mother country, with the result that the Premier has been made a "Privy Councillor,"—an honor

hat has also been bestowed on a number of other Colonial Premiers, some of whom, we believe, have risen from nothing, and could not write a decent line. Australia has been entertaining, and almost going mad, over the Duke of Cornwall's visit to open the Federal Parliament, which he did in Melbourne, it is stated, in the presence of 12,000 people. The Duke also visited Ballarat, one of the finest cities on the Australian continent. What Melbourne and Victoria are like our readers will learn from an article in the present issue on *The Evolution of a British Colony*. The Duke subsequently proceeded to Sydney and Brisbane. The elections for the Australian Federal Parliament have resulted in a protectionist majority; and already a "Monroe doctrine" is being talked of for Australasia! New Zealand is out of the Federation. Statistics disclose the startling fact that the Australians are becoming a sterile race. It is not a wonder to those who know Australia and its society, etc. Of course, there is much of it good; but the mass of it is—nowhere. Politically, too, like its national emblem of the Kangaroo, it will be feeble at the head, and rest on its buttress—the tail! We believe Australia will never become another United States, in any respect whatever—not even a Canada. This is too long a question for us to further discuss here. Finally, our kith in the United States have made substantial progress in, at last, catching Aguinaldo by a clever stratagem, reminding one of the Wooden Horse at Troy. Aguinaldo has now given in his adhesion, and is calling on his compatriots to submit. At home, the United States, under the guidance of Mr. Morgan, is going into huge Trusts in everything, and Andrew Carnegie has sold out with a fortune of fifty millions sterling, of which he is making such a good use, that not only will his name live as long as the world exists, or millions unborn bless him, but his example will probably lead other great millionaires to make as good use of their "talents." Carnegie is determined to distribute all his money, except a little reserved for a young daughter, before he dies. His wisdom, Scotch and practical, does not run in the line of endowing "Bishoprics." Yet we think some portion of his millions may yet go towards spreading the consolations of true religion among the outcast hopeless in a few great cities, as well of elevating *character*, and not mere intellectual attainments, in some of our greatest centres of education.

HOME—ENGLAND.—King Edward VII has justified the expectations of all who wish him, and the state, well. He began with three addresses to his home subjects, to Britain beyond the seas, and to the princes and peoples of India, which are models of kingly resolves and declarations. Nothing

could have been better in style, matter, and brevity. An everyone must be pleased to see not only in these, but in al his replies to the numerous public bodies, his references to the Divine blessing, and his anxiety to do what is right. Indeed from his past history for very many years as Prince of Wales nothing but sobriety, earnestness, and attention to duty may be expected of him. He has always shown strong common sense, made a model chairman, and helped the poor and sick in various ways. He has also been the head of the Masonic Fraternity, a body union with which, placed him on a level with the poorest and meanest of the land. He has never exhibited himself in false, impudent and assuming lights like his nephew of Germany. He has always honored and obeyed his excellent and memorable parents. His religion has been unostentatious, and from the side-gleams the public have had of it, humble and according to his lights. Nothing, therefore, but good may be predicted of him and his reign in English history. He knows the times, and has been a patient learner of politics and political lessons, and we feel sure will make one of the best kings—with his saintly predecessor and namesake Edward VI's example before him—that have sat on England's throne. That grace will be given him—to recognise and maintain England's true honour, while advocating peace and making "wars to cease," we must all specially hope. Finally, he is blessed with one of the most excellent consorts who have even ascended a throne or become a Queen of England, not excluding his very remarkable mother even. His Civil List and Allowances have been fixed on a liberal scale, and some of his expensive tastes which always hitherto left him in want of money, must necessarily disappear with his exaltation to another position requiring other aims than a pursuit of private and selfish pleasure. One of his first acts has been to dismiss the late Queen's Indian servants who had made themselves too notorious, and whose services were no longer required. As we write, his life has been mercifully spared—not for the first or the second time—from a sudden ending by accident on board Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht *Shamrock II* in the Solent.

One of the first acts of the Parliament under the new reign has been to appoint a Committee to examine and report on certain words alleged to be offensive to Roman Catholics in the Accession Oath. They are doubtless so, but so are the words to maintain the Christian Faith—even if "Protestant"—to the Jews, and we may also add, to the Mahommedans, a very much larger body than the Roman Catholics. The question may be raised, among many other pertinent ones,—such as the historical character of the words,—where shall we stop if we

nce make a beginning? Shall we do away with the oath in deference to the prejudices of the different sections of the Empire? Ought not the words to be viewed politically, constitutionally, and as reserved for and sacred to its own special sphere as apart from the consideration of religious convictions and beliefs? We express no opinion, but throw out the above suggestions as contributing to a right understanding of a difficult matter—one, too, that only comes once in a lifetime, and which materially affects no private individual.

Parliament has been occupied almost wholly with the consideration of the Budget—a War Budget. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has indeed been called to his post in trying and difficult times. Notwithstanding the enormous increase in the revenue, the deficit amounted to nearly sixty millions sterling. Provision had also to be made for enormous expenses in the future, both in connection with the South African "War" and future additions to the Army and Navy. The deficit has been met by a loan. But for other expenditure the income tax has been raised to a still higher figure, the tea duty has been continued, sugar has been taxed, and also—coal! The last has called forth a large amount of protest from both miners and coal proprietors, and the matter is not yet quite settled as we write. The particulars of the Budget as received by wire are as follows:—

Last year's deficit fifty-three millions sterling. Without the War a surplus of fifteen millions. The estimated expenditure for 1901 is £187,602,000, of which that on the war amounts to sixty millions. There will be a deficit of fifty-five millions. The Chancellor adds 2*d.* to the income tax and imposes a duty of 4*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. on refined sugar polarising above 98, including West India. The duty will diminish for raw sugar polarising below 98, by a complex graduated scale to a minimum of 2*s.* per cwt. for sugar polarising at 76. This scale is tentative, and revisable under experience. The Budget also imposes a duty of 2*s.* per cwt. on molasses, 1*s.* 8*d.* on glucose, and an export duty of a shilling a ton on coal. Altogether, the new taxes yield eleven millions sterling. The Government proposes to suspend the Sinking Fund and borrow sixty millions of Consols, which exceeds the deficit, but is needed to finance the Exchequer." Meanwhile, trade is shifting to America—which is ominous for the future of England. Under all these circumstances it is not strange that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach should say in the House, that it is "unnecessary that the tax-payers should continue always to bear almost the whole charge of the Naval defence of the Empire." This means that the Colonies

should contribute, somewhat, *to their own defence.* This is nothing but just. We have been treated *ad nauseam* lately to the loyalty of the Colonies in sending contingents of troops to South Africa, the real truth being that England has been taking off, and paying for, so many thousand of unemployed men in the Colonies. The "loyalty," however, which has been overflowing lately in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, on the occasion of the Duke of Cornwall's visit, will be put to a severe test when the question comes of paying, say, only a couple millions annually towards the Navy which safeguards Australia. We shall not be out when we say that it will—evaporate! Even a proposal to give Australia representation in the House will not do. Australian "loyalty" consists in holiday ebullitions, and in living on the heavily-taxed little home country reeling with its burdens. Whether our words are true or not, let a contribution for the Navy proportionally to population—and why should the Army even be excluded?—be asked for.

Of other public measures and men, Lord Salisbury has—what was to be expected, only people would not see—burked the enquiry that was promised in regard to the "War." He has also made one or two other speeches, again referring—needlessly we think, for England will never allow it—to the Home Rule question, and stating that England was not to be roused with impunity—*by whom?* This, along with certain utterances of the German Emperor's, which we have already considered, and other matters more or less manifest, lead us to think that some European trouble is brewing. Even in India we are preparing for eventualities by improving our armaments, etc. Mr. Broderick has proposed some Army Reform under Lord Roberts' support which has disappointed everyone, including all the Service Members of the House. He subsequently retreated from his position by virtually giving up the whole thing! Would Lord Cardwell have done so? The truth is, that while we all know what we want, no one knows how exactly to arrive at it. Meanwhile, three more battleships, the largest that will be afloat, and which will cost four millions sterling, have been ordered. With regard to these, our opinion is that what are wanted are very small active wooden vessels carrying only one good gun each to pound the giants, but this is not the place to enlarge on the future of the Navy. And in reference to the Army, whatever may be the lessons taught us by the Boer "War," we can never actually say what our Army should be, or how and where reorganised without a great European War shaking everything down to its proper place. And, with the command of the sea, which we must always necessarily maintain, conscription

certainly not needed. As regards Mr. Chamberlain and his public utterances, we have already seen what they are and need not take them up again. He is the "fifth wheel" in the coach which, if detached, would considerably increase the efficiency and speed of the Tory vehicles. The "Union" was unnatural, and was made for a special purpose—Home Rule which has long now been dropped, and which, simply, England will never allow. Mr. Chamberlain and his speeches remind one of Shakespeare's characters who can fly at Cæsars and also be at home in tackling fish-wives in their own dialect. A scene by a few disorderly Irish Members ended by their summary ejection from the House, and by Mr. Balfour carrying their exclusion for the rest of the session. Mr. Balfour, however, makes but a poor "leader," and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman a worse, however decent and estimable they may be otherwise. Sir William Harcourt has been both criticising the Budget, and drawing attention to the folly of entering into European alliances and complications. Let us trust that the eyes of England will be opened to the consequences of any sort of alliance whatever with Germany, or Austria. The German Emperor cannot be trusted except to make a cat's-paw of England to serve his own ends, and Austria will probably be in the throes of dissolution ere long. There have, however, been two remarkable contests in Parliament, both in military matters, and almost personal. The first came on in the House of Lords between the late Commander-in-Chief and Lord Lansdowne, the late Minister for War. We are afraid Lord Wolseley did not shine in it. Lord Wolseley, ever since Lord Roberts' appointment to South Africa, has been a falling star. Besides, he has always had too high an opinion of himself, and also of his position; and his hopeless present fall, reminds one of his extraordinary and unjustifiable summary closing, of General Hamlyn's career. What measure he meted out to others he is now himself receiving. The other case was General Colville's enforced retirement from the Army, and though nominally the contest was with the War Office, really it was one with Lord Roberts. General Colville may have been a perfect soldier, and may have shone even in Waterloo, but he had not the literary qualifications to advertise himself; and of course, in a contest with Lord Roberts could only fail. But the contest showed that Lord Roberts is not the "idol" of the higher ranks of the Army, nor perhaps such a commanding genius as some have supposed him to be. Had not General Buller been in Natal keeping Joubert and the bulk of the Boer troops engaged; and had he not had the assistance of such an eminent soldier as Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts could simply have done

nothing. He might even have egregiously failed. But he has been always "lucky"—even from the march to Candahar, the real credit of which is well known to belong to the late Sir Donald Stewart, who had already cleared the way, and who equipped him so fully;—reminding us of the old adage, "it is better to be born lucky than with a golden spoon." Lord Roberts, however, is about the best General we have at present, and with Lord Kitchener and General Buller in reserve —not to say a few others—we may be thankful. Besides these the only other incident of note in Parliament has been in connection with Mr. Arthur Markham designating Messrs. Wernher and Beit of South African fame a "common gang of thieves and swindlers," and having been challenged to repeat the words outside, has done so, and has had an action lodged against him.

Among other matters of home interest may be mentioned the following. The Duke of Cornwall with the Duchess left England in the *Ophir* for the purpose of being in Australia to open the Federal Parliament, the King seeing him off, saying that the object of the journey was to express appreciation for the Colonies participation in the "War." In this matter of Australians in connection with the "War," however, we are one with the *Sydney Bulletin*. England has notified to Belgium that she is prepared to join a Sugar Bounties Conference. The largest steamer in the world, the *Celtic*, has been launched at Belfast. In a dispute regarding the retirement of certain professors at Cooper's Hill College, the scientific body of Great Britain, headed by Lord Kelvin, has come off second-best, Lord George Hamilton scoring heavily. He had a reserve of scientific opinion in the Visiting Committee hid up his sleeve. In the Varsity Boat Race Oxford won by half a length after an exciting contest, Cambridge leading to past Barnes Bridge. The Census shows 32½ millions for England and Wales, and 4½ millions each for Scotland and Ireland, or a total of 41½ millions, being an increase of 3½ millions, so that the race at home shows no signs of dying out notwithstanding the great preponderance of the unmarried female element. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has retired from America with a fortune of 50 millions sterling, has made a gift of two millions to the four Scotch Universities for the support of poor students of Scottish birth, and also provides funds for equipping the Universities with the most complete system of scientific instruction. He is making a noble use of his wealth, and we have referred to it elsewhere previously. The "Annual May Meetings" have been held, the Church Missionary Society showing the largest income, and the Baptist about the least. The latter, however, shows the greatest

amount of evangelical and "discipling" work; while the former has fallen away to latitudinarianism, and is very much concerned with education, the natural result of latitudinarianism. We know we shall be taken to task for saying so, but we are prepared to meet any lame apology (and confession of defeat) that may be advanced. The foundations of whatever Native Christianity there is in India, were laid by the early converts, obtained from among the poorest and most ignorant, through the instrumentality of preaching—of the Living Voice preaching the Living Word, and not the diluted intellectual curriculum of the class-room. Finally, the Victoria Memorial Committee appointed by the King has reported for a Personal Memorial opposite Buckingham Palace, which may at least show our excellent and well-meaning Viceroy that, as we even expressed it in our last Quarter's notes, his plan of a Museum could never have been thought of by any one but himself, that it is unsuited to the object, and that the highest and best English opinion is against him.

INDIA—THE VICEROY.—With the exception of making a self-congratulatory speech on the Budget, and spending the best part of a month shooting on the borders of Nepal, there is nothing to record to Lord Curzon since we last wrote, unless it be making a speech at the M. A. O. College—which has been variously criticised—on his way up to Simla, and putting forth in print his objection to the appropriateness of Delhi being the site for the Victoria Memorial. This last is a bit of lame special pleading, the one great and almost insuperable objection being that Delhi is full of the grandest Imperial monuments of 3,000 years, and that any monument we could raise would look almost paltry beside these. There is, however, one extraordinary slip—we may almost say two slips—made by Lord Curzon in his "Note" on the question of the selection of Delhi which we would not have supposed him capable of making, and strange, which has not drawn the attention of any of his critics. The first is his assertion that Delhi represents only Mahommedan domination and was only a Mussalman capital. Delhi was in existence long before Mahommedanism was even born in Arabia, and was known as the capital of the leading Hindu Dynasty of North India under the name of Hastinapura, meaning, we believe, *The City of Elephants*, a name given to it probably from its royal parades of vast bodies of elephants. We may be wrong in this interpretation, but that is beside the question. In the next place there are monuments—and they are everlasting—besides the Mahommedan glories—of early Hindu and Buddhist rule. As we are not writing a treatise on the antiquities of Delhi and their historical connection, we may pass on by saying that, Delhi

being set aside—on not quite sufficient grounds—Calcutta is probably the best place for the Victoria Memorial. As to the *form* of it, assuming that a plan similar to Asoka's imperishable pillars be impossible—again we may ask, why?—there will be great divergency of opinion, save in the matter of its being a "personal" Memorial and not an ordinary and defective Museum to unite amusement with instruction. The next best thing to being in the right, is, when wrong, to confess being in the wrong, and certainly Lord Curzon—whom we all dearly love—will lose none of his dignity and reputation by doing so in the matter of this Memorial. Attention has been drawn to the exceeding bad taste of the remarks in the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Memorial Fund*, in regard to the criticisms, that have been passed on Lord Curzon's scheme. Who can be the Editor of the *Journal?* The scheme is bad enough as it is—and unless Lord Curzon sees fit to amend it and put it in the hands of a representative Committee to decide, it may at least be allowed to quietly glide out of sight—but to rouse further opposition and attention to its defects—! So much for the site, and the form. As regards the subscriptions for it, the amount is woefully small, the total being only thirty-four lakhs, whereas to make an imposing marble building of the kind contemplated, which will not be overshadowed by the proximity of the white lime-washed Government House pile, there will be at least a *hundred lakhs* needed. A brick-and-mortar erection will be disgraceful in the connection. We are afraid even the fifty lakhs called for will not be forthcoming. There can be no doubt that, but for striving to please Lord Curzon, not more than ten lakhs would have been forthcoming, And among some of the names we notice among the subscribers, we are aware that the sums down to them will be paid with difficulty. Of the separate collections for Provincial Memorials the North-West Provinces stands first with nearly eight lakhs, the Madras next with nearly one lakh, and Bombay with nothing at all! Yet Bombay is the first in true charity, and on the occasion of the Viceroy's last visit to it, presented him with the most florid address which he must have been greatly pained to hear if he had any self-respect.

We may pass over the spending of a twelfth part of the whole year in shooting, and have a few words to offer regarding the last Budget and his speech on it, as well as his Aligurh address to the students of the M. A. O. College. The Budget was a quite satisfactory one, the only blot in it being the lame defence—which, too, was not required—of the Salt Tax. But the Viceroy's speech, showing what a lot he had accomplished, and what a deal more he was going to do, was neither in good taste, nor true. "Let another praise thee," says the wise King

Solomon, "and not thy own tongue." As for the "twelve or fifteen" measures for which he took all the credit, they have been always before every Viceroy and Government of India, and everyone has been doing something in them. We are not aware that Lord Curzon has done anything new or remarkable in them The times are moving on, and Lord Curzon and the Government must only move on with them. Can he say that agriculture and irrigation have been a whit more advanced than might have been expected? or famines rendered safer and more preventible? or a large flow of home capital induced? or education bettered and rendered more practical than turning out thousands of hungry "B. A.'s" of no good to themselves or the country every year? or any other of the many points he referred to improved in any way? This is not a review of his Viceroyalty—which will come at the close of his period;—but if, when he leaves, he can show anything beyond his "speeches"—and the Queen's Memorial of old chain armour and faded letters, etc., he may then congratulate himself. We mean anything lasting such as have been left to India for her progress and development by Viceroys like Lords Dalhousie, Mayo, and Dufferin. We trust we shall be reckoned both "true" and just in making these observations, which seem to be necessary.

As regards the Aligurh speech there is not much to be said except to draw attention to a mistake made by Lord Curzon, and his pronouncement in regard to "religion" in education. In regard to the mistake, he is not aware that the real originator and "founder" of the College—of whose name, however, he is perfectly aware, as is also Sir Antony Macdonnell, so that they at least cannot honestly still style Sir Syed Ahmed as the "founder," who was not and is not (for he is still alive to refer to) a Mahommedan,—incorporated religious worship and religion in his plan, but that Sir Syed Ahmed stoutly opposed it, and tried to do without religion, and failed to meet support, and only after some years of the existence of the College gave way. When the College, then, was started, religion was out of it,—this is Lord Curzon's mistake, and it was kept out of it by Sir Syed Ahmed. So much for Lord Curzon's mistake. The other point, in whichever way we view the Viceroy's words relating to it, is of greater importance. It refers to "religion" and its place in education. The following are Lord Curzon's words as reported:—"Adhere to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make that the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations."

The main idea, of course, is for education to have a "religious basis," and this, of course, is a remarkable pronouncement made by the Viceroy of India in view of the recent discussion about "neutrality" in religion, and the godlessness of the present system of Government education to which reference was made by us in our last Quarter's notes. We have here neither the time nor space to enter fully into the question, but we are in possession of the entire inner history—a remarkable one—of the exclusion of the Bible from Government Colleges; and should the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Miller, C.I.E., favour us with an original paper working out the conclusions on "neutrality" he tried to enforce in the "Note" on the subject, to which we also referred previously, we shall set forth how a "religious basis" for education, which had been promoted by Dr. Duff and which was agitated for, came for decision before Lord Canning, and how Sir John Peter Grant—very probably a member of the *White Rose League*—and the Rev. Dr. Kay united together and "dished" it, Dr. Kay being an intimate and old College friend of Lord Canning's, and at the time holding the highest rank and having the greatest influence in India both for his great learning and saintliness. This is the serious aspect of Lord Curzon's words. But the first or opening clause about, "adhering to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and profound truth" have been taken by some as if the Viceroy, from his exalted official position, exhorted his hearers to continue Mahommedans as against the light of truth or Christianity. If so, we must give him the discredit of either not understanding, or running counter to not merely the Christian faith, but such great masters and metaphysicians as Plato, Sir William Hamilton, Kant and Hegel; and of recommending Mahommedan youth never to expand their minds, and enter into the knowledge of the science of being. We believe, however, that such an idea never entered into Lord Curzon's thoughts, unless sarcastically, by wishing his hearers to remain in ignorance of the mind and its problems, he would really urge them to higher flights than the *Koran* takes them to. We acquit him, however, of such deep "guile," as also of any great knowledge of the Koran, or its theology. We do not believe that in the little leisure left him during his travels and intervals of writing for the Press, he has had much time to study comparative religions or "THE TRUE LIGHT," and that the last thing he would *pose* in would be that of a Doctor of Mahommedan Theology showing forth the Originality and Beauties of the *Koran*. The words, however, were ill-chosen. "Adhering" to either the Bible or the Koran is not religion. Had he merely said "stick to religion, and make the fear of God and the love of man" the basis, etc.,

would not have laid himself open to misunderstanding either by Christians or Mahommedans, or even Hindus or philosophers.

POLITICAL.—Sir Lepel Griffin has severely attacked Lord Curzon for taking the principal share in separating the "Frontier Province;" but Sir Lepel Griffin's weight in Indian matters of moment may be discounted. He retired, we believe, a disappointed man—Viceroy's and the public could not appreciate his clearness and we may remind him of the obligation of the Burmah Ruby Mines Company to refund the remissions made by the Government of India when prospects were low, as the mines are now paying handsomely, and there is no reason why the tax-payers of India should be mulcted for a private company's profit even though a Sir Lepel Griffin be in it, and it be also to his private profit. It is true, however, that the "Frontier Province" idea is not Lord Curzon's, but of several of his predecessors and others. Sir Power Palmer has been confirmed as Commander-in-Chief in India. The Hon'ble A. T. Arundel of Madras has succeeded Sir Arthur Trevor with the charge of the Public Works Department. The Budget we have already referred to, and it hardly bears a "political" aspect. Burmah is dissatisfied in being made the milch cow of India; while the Shan States show progress. The Governor of Madras, having made a first tour among the rural population, has been supplied first hand with a number of serious grievances suffered by agriculturists, and has already attended to one or two of them. Lord Ampthill may yet do great and noble work for the millions of Madras and emulate the lasting name of Sir Thomas Munro in the Presidency. A rumour that Lord Curzon will succeed Sir Alfred (now Lord) Milner in South Africa we only notice to remark on its utter absurdity. There is more likelihood of his being appointed to the charge of our relations with Corea, or the Moon. An Agricultural Banks Conference at Simla is looked for to evolve something practical and definite for application to India. We trust so. Different plans may be tried to different provinces, as best suited to the case of each. The question is being put "how are the new Mining Rules being worked in the Central Provinces—?" Rules which Lord Curzon expected would open up India to mineral enterprise. Is merely the promulgation of Rules sufficient? Ought not a Report to be furnished once a quarter at least to the Viceroy to show what—if anything—is being done, and how it is being done? The results of the Census have been published, and do not show the increase in the population that was looked for. This is attributed to the mortality caused by the famine, by plague and by various diseases.

Calcutta, too, now leads in numbers, and Bombay takes th second place. The actual figures in detail are as follows :—

	1901.	1891.	Percentage increase or dec.
British Territory.			
Ajmere-Merwara	476,000	542,000	−12·17
Assam	6,122,000	5,433,000	+12·67
Bengal	74,713,000	71,346,000	+ 4·72
Berar	1,491,000	2,897,000	− 4·99
Bombay	15,330,000	15,957,000	− 3·93
Sind	3,212,000	2,871,000	+11·88
Aden	41,000	44,000	− 6·48
Upper Burma	3,849,000	3,362,000	+14·49
Lower Burma	5,371,000*	4,408,000	+21·84
Central Provinces	9,845,000	10,784,000	− 8·71
Coorg	180,000	173,000	+ 4·28
Madras	38,208,000	35,630,000	+ 7·24
N.-W. Provinces	34,812,000	34,253.000	+ 1·63
Oudh	12,884,000	12,650,000	+ 2·40
Punjab	22,449,000	20,866,000	+ 7·53
Baluchistan	810,000*		
Andamans	24,000	15,000	+56·95
Total British Territory	231,085,000	221,266,000	+ 4·44
Native States.			
Hyderabad	11,174.000	11,537,000	− 3·14
Baroda	1,950,000	2,415,000	−19·23
Mysore	5,538,000	4,943,000	+ 12
Kashmir	2,906,000	2,543,000	+14·24
Rajputana	9,841,000	12,016,000	−18·1
Central India	8,501,000	10,318,000	−17· 5
Bombay	6,891,000	8,059,000	−14·49
Madras	4,190,000	3,700,000	+13·23
Central Provinces	1,983,000	2,160,000	− 8·19
Bengal	3,735,000	3,296,000	−13·33
N.-W.P.	799,000	792,000	+ ·91
Punjab	4,438,000	4,263,000	+ 4·12
Burma	1,228,000*		
Total Native States	63,181,000	66,050,000	− 4·34
Total all India	294,266,000	287,317,000	+ 2·42

* No comparison possible.

Examining the figures in another way, we get the following increase as compared with 1891 :—

Assam	688,000	Bengal States	439,000
Bengal	366,000	N.-W. P. States	7,000
Sind	341,000	Punjab States	175,000
Upper Burma	487,000	Berar	144,000
Lower Burma	962,000	Bombay Proper	627,000
Coorg	7,000	Aden	2,800
Madras	2,578,000	C. Provinces	938,000
N.-W. P.	558,000	Hyderabad	362,000
Oudh	233,000	Baroda	564,000
Punjab	1,582,000	Rajputana	2,175,000
Mysore	594,000	C. India States	1,816,000
Kashmir	362,000	Bombay States	1,167,000
Madras States	489,000	C. P. States	177,000

Finally, we have India in Parliament at home. It may be remembered that the Director of Public Instruction in a Report remarked on the disloyalty couched in some of Mr. Malabari's published works. Mr. Malabari thereon made much-to-do and got as a reply from the Government of Bombay that the Director of Public Instruction only did his duty. The question—a most trumpery one—was actually raised in the House of Lords, and Mr. Malabari strongly supported by several past Viceroys and others. We make no question of Mr. Malabari's honesty, sincerity, or loyalty, but we agree with the Government of Bombay, and the Director of Public Instruction that Mr. Malabari's words do bear a disloyal interpretation. He may have been only unfortunate in his use of them—but the whole thing has been "a tempest in a teapot." Cooper's Hill College has had a flare-up of its own, and was introduced into the House, but we have already previously referred to it. An Irrigation Blue Book has been promised by Lord George Hamilton: our readers will see the subject fully treated in this issue in an article. The Imperial Government, after years of consideration, will now pay £10,000 annually towards the expense of the Zanzibar-Mauritius Cable. The Viceroy's unfortunate circular about Indian Princes travelling to Europe was again commented on in the House, Lord George Hamilton declaring that the sanction of the Home Government was not necessary. General Badcock has been appointed the Military Member of Council of the Secretary of State for India in succession to the late Sir Donald Stewart. The Secretary of State has sanctioned a reduction in Inland Parcels Postage to two annas for each twenty tolahs up to forty tolas and two annas extra for each forty tolas thereafter up to 440. The postage on such parcels to be prepaid, the registration fee being reduced to two annas for each parcel. These concessions involve a sacrifice of Rs. 5 lakhs revenue. We would have draw attention to the article on "Postal Reform" as the wost valuable contribution on the subject we have seen. We hardly say that it embodies the views of the very top grade of the service its—f.

With reference to the Commission of Enquiry into the management of estates by the Administrator of Bengal, Lord George Hamilton could say nothing definite till orders had been passed on the report by the Government of India, which had not yet been done. In regard to matters connected with the coinage and gold in India, we extract the following:—

Thursday, 2nd May.

Rupee Coinage.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of silver in rupees has been coined and issued in India up to the end of March since April, 1900; and what sum, if

any, as representing profit on such coinage has been credited to current revenue; what amount of gold coin has been paid out in the same period from the Treasuries or Currency Department on tender by the public at the rate of Rs. 15 in silver or currency notes; what is the total sum of currency notes now in circulation; and, can some general or average statement be presented showing the rise or fall at the up-country markets in prices of seeds, jute, and other non-edible export products since the beginning of 1897.

Lord G. Hamilton: The number of rupees coined in India, during the official year 1900-1901 is 171,479,318. The gross profit on this coinage is £3,150,000, and the net profit £3,030,000. The whole of this sum is in the accounts credited to revenue, a corresponding amount being debited to expenditure as transferred to the gold reserve fund, so that the balance is unaffected. The amount of gold coin which has been issued to the public in the same period is £6,374,880, of which about half is estimated to be still in their hands. The value of currency notes in circulation, on the 31st March, 1901, was Rs. 29,86,59,000 (29 crores, 86 lakhas, 59, thousand). The statistics available in this country as to prices do not show the rise or fall in respect of non-edible export products in up country markets.

Gold Held by the Indian Government.—Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether he can state what amount of Gold is now held by, or on behalf of the Indian Government, as compared with the £9,400,000, held in April of last year; how much of this metal is now held as reserve against currency notes; up to the close of last month what has been the net export and import into India of gold since April last; what are the corresponding net values of silver as shown in the Indian trade returns; how much or what proportion of these net imports or exports of treasure have been on Government account; and, what are the present amounts of the Indian Government's cash balances here and in India, respectively.

Lord G. Hamilton: The amount of gold held by the Indian Government on the 31st March, 1901, was £7,115,047. Gold to the value of £5,708,487 was on the 22nd April held as reserve against currency notes. In 1900-1901 there was a total net import of gold £561,423, and of silver £6,337,788. The transactions on account of Government included in the foregoing figures were a net export of gold £4,482,242, and a net import of silver £5,389,051. The cash balances on the 31st March, 1901, were, in England, £4,090,660, and in India about £10,650,000.

In the matter of Indian legislation, the Mines' Bill, after a deal of opposition, has been passed, and it was explained that it was mostly needed for the inferior class of native-managed mines. The Indian Christians Relief Act in the matter of Succession Duties has also been passed and given general satisfaction. The Assam Labour Bill was passed after the most strenuous opposition, but the provisions are not to operate for two years. We do not see, then, what need there was of passing it at all. Two years may give a completely new aspect to many matters. Bnt Mr. Cotton's "face was saved." In the matter of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill passed some while ago, the provisions are to come into operation at once.

THE BISHOPS AND MATTERS COGNATE.—We regret that the Metropolitan has been obliged to go home to get over the effects of a fever. He has been very earnest and anxious to do his duty, and during the brief period he has been in the country has tried both to form and to lead religious public opi-

ion, of which we reckon his drawing attention to the "Sunday Observance," with the reason assigned, the principal. Much here remains to be done besides the admonitions of the clergy. The Viceroy himself, like Lord Dufferin, might set an example. We have no time or space at present to enlarge on the subject. When leaving Bishop Welldon wrote a fareweil letter to his Archdeacon, in which he said, "I am sure you will understand that the very last thing I should wish to do, is to cling to my office, if I feel I cannot regularly discharge its sacred duties." We can only trust that these words do not look forward to his severance from India, for it would be difficult to replace him, although we have not always agreed with his public deliverances. Neither do we agree with him that it is so essential, even for an Episcopal Church, to form immediately a bishopric for Assam, and another for the Central Provinces. These provinces contain Church of England Clergy so few in numbers. To quote the example of the American Episcopal Methodists of India would be of little avail to "Churchmen," but, with an immense organisation and very large congregations and numbers of clergy all over India, they are most efficiently managed by a single "Bishop." To merely have a "Bishop" does not increase either Church power or the "kingdom of heaven." Meanwhile we observe a whole tribe called "Mangs" in Western India coming forward to claim an admission into the Christian faith, which movement, as being self-generated, is remarkable. A cry for marriage with a deceased wife's sister is being heard in the Native Christian Church in India, which, as it has first happened to come before the Bishop of Madras, is sure to be disregarded. We cannot say whether the whole body of the Anglican Bishops in India will agree in this. At any rate, the other Reformed Churches will assuredly grant the "relief" if they do not already practise it. The vexed question of the use of Government Churches, which have hitherto been under the rule of the Anglican Church, for the use of other denominations, has now been decided, making it as circumlocutary and difficult as ever. A Home Department Resolution, in the *Gazette*, announces that, in supersession of the existing rule, a Chaplain or Minister desiring to obtain the use of a consecrated Church shall first address the General Officer Commanding the District, or the Lieutenant-General of the Command, simultaneously informing the Church of England Chaplain that such an application has been made. The Military authorities will forward the same to the Bishop of the Diocese. The Bishop of Madras or Bombay, whichever has been first consecrated, is nominated to act during the absence of the Metropolitan in the matter of the functions devolving upon the latter under the Rules relating to the loan

of churches. The Central Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association are erecting a building four-storeys high in Chowringhee, Calcutta, at a cost of over two-and-a-half lakhs of rupees, and will board and accommodate thirty or forty people, besides having the usual offices. Everything connected with it will be "first-class," and will clearly beat the fine Madras building hollow. The Bishop of Bombay is still at home, and the Bishop of Madras gone up to cool Ootacamund for the summer. Meanwhile, Bishop Gell, late of Madras, but still in the Presidency, has held a very successful "reunion" of Missionary labourers in the Southern Presidency. Finally, in religious matters, an inter-denominational meeting, from which the Church of England Clergy seem to have been absent, has been held in the Union Chapel Hall, at which Baptists, Congregationalists and others fraternized, and carried on proceedings after the manner of the "May Meetings" at home. This plan of May Meetings in India to correspond with those at home might be considerably enlarged, Allahabad being the most central place for them. But the heat would be something to be considered. As the Rev. A. North at the Meeting above alluded to said:—"The Baptists, with their evangelising success, and their great leaders in Mission fields, have no reason to be ashamed of their ancestry."

LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND EDUCATIONAL.—Journalistic literature in India suffers a loss in the departure of Mr. T. Jewell Bennett, Editor of the *Times of India*, which will be difficult to replace. But England will be the gainer, for Mr. Bennett retires in good health, and not "broken down" as has been asserted. We trust he has many years of usefulness before him in the home country. His literary "culture" could always be traced in his articles; and it is such men—and they are not many—that elevate the tone of the Press whether in India or elsewhere. Referring to journalism in India, there have been some notable "lapses" lately among some of the leaders. The *Englishman* called attention to consigning the Boer prisoners to Ahmednugger, and had to apologise. We do not think the *Englishman* deserving of all the journalistic wrath that has been poured on its head for the "lapse." On the contrary, we think, he was the only one who drew attention to the matter, and showed the greatest amount of moral and journalistic courage and independence in doing so, for which he should rather be praised. It is well to have a powerful organ of public opinion who is not afraid, on occasions of telling the truth—even if on behalf of "prisoners of war" and they—Boers! The *Indian Daily News* made a dreadful "lapse" in coming out with the Budget before it was delivered. This led the Secretary to Government to cancel the giving of "advance"

copies of the statement to every newspaper in India, which was quite wrong, punishing the many for the sin of one. Clearly only the offending paper should have been punished. Following suit with bigger papers in excusable "lapses" a native journal in Calcutta came out with a detailed story of horrible outrage by a European. This story was a concoction, and the paper had to apologise. We wish the native paper we refer to had a little more respect for itself, if it has none for others. Among other matters journalistic the *Madras Times*, long the property of a member of the Arbuthnot firm of Southern India is, we learn, about to pass over to a joint-stock proprietory mostly of tradesmen. Finally, we may be permitted to notice the loss this *Review* has suffered by the resignation of its late Editor, Mr. James W. Furrell, and to contradict the alleged breaking down of his health. For a period of over fifteen years he has guided the fortunes of the old, stately, and learned *Calcutta Review*—the leading and only "Quarterly" in India, founded by Sir John William Kaye, and edited in succession by men of the highest position and note in India, including Secretaries to Government of India, Generals, and Judges of the High Court. As some one said, "no one knows, or can know India, without the *Calcutta Review*," which has had enshrined in its pages the highest administrative thought and literary culture of Indian administrators, thinkers, writers, and scientific and literary men. And Mr. Furrell, notwithstanding the great change in the times from the past to the present, has always managed—amid the other serious difficulties which only an Editor of such a high-class "Quarterly" in India can know—to keep abreast of the age and to win the respect of all. Mr. Furrell, we believe, came out early in the ranks of the Civil Service in the N.-W. Provinces, which he gave up for journalism else, with his talents, he might have been in the India Council. Now that he has severed his connection with the "*Calcutta*," in unbroken health, and still stays on in India, we trust yet to see him swaying the destinies of a leading "daily"—though some may consider it a descent—or, let us say a "weekly" after the style of the old *Friend of India*, thus filling a gap which yet remains.

In matters educational, Professor Ramsay has sent in his scheme for the College of Research at Bangalore. We need not enter into its details, but may mention that the Mysore Government has been very liberal in connection with it, and that, no doubt, it is this liberality that turned the scale in favour of Bangalore. It is of some importance, as well as interesting, to note the outline of Religious Instruction on which the Benares Central Hindu College Text-Books will be based. It was circulated for six months for amendment and criticism

among the Members of the Board of Trustees, the Managing Committee, and various learned Hindus; the Managing Committee carefully considered all amendments, and incorporated the greater part of them, and then sent up the amended Report to the Board of Trustees; the Board reviewed the whole, amended, and finally passed the Report, on the 30th December, 1900. We quote it:—

HINDU RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. The object of the Central Hindu College being to combine Hindu religious and ethical training with the Western education suited to the needs of the time, it is important that this religious and ethical training shall be of a wide, liberal and unsectarian character, while at the same time it shall be definitely and distinctively Hindu. It should be inclusive enough to unite the most divergent forms of Hindu thought, but exclusive enough to leave outside it forms of thought which are non-Hindu. It should avoid all doctrines which are the subject of controversy between schools recognised as orthodox; it should not enter into any of the social and political questions of the day; but it should lay a solid foundation of religion and ethics on which the student may build, in his manhood, the more specialised principles suited to his intellectual and emotional temperament. It should be directed to the building up of a character—pious, dutiful, strong, self-reliant, upright, righteous, gentle and well-balanced—a character which will be that of a good man and a good citizen; the fundamental principles of religion, governing the general view of life and of life's obligations, are alone sufficient to form such a character. That which unites Hindus in a common faith should be clearly and simply taught; all that divides them should be ignored. Lastly, care should be taken to cultivate a wide spirit of tolerance, which not only respects the differences of thought and practice among Hindus, but which also respects the differences of religion among non-Hindus, regarding all faiths with reverence, as roads whereby men approach the supreme.

The Committee therefore lays down the following three fundamental principles, as governing all the religious and ethical instruction to be given by the Central Hindu College. (1.) It must be such as all Hindus can accept. (2.) It must include the special teachings which mark out Hinduism from other religions. (3.) It must not include the distinctive views of any special school or sect.

The religious instruction should be divided under three heads. I. Basic Hindu religious ideas. II. General Hindu religious customs and rates. III. Ethical Teachings.

The authorities from which religious instruction should be

given, and the books whence illustrations should be drawn, are :—The Vedas—including the Upanishads; the Dharma Shastra—Manu, Yagnyavalkya, etc.; the Puranas; the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

I.—BASIC HINDU RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The One.—The One Eternal, Unchanging, Infinite—Parabrahman, Paramatman. The primary manifestation of the One as Ishvara, the manifested Brahmin, in the creation, preservation and dissolution of the worlds. (To be worked out in the text-book and every position supported by quotations from Shruti and Smriti.)

The many.—Jivas, born from diverse yonis into the moving and unmoving forms that make up the Universe—Devas, Asuras, Men, Animals, Plants, Minerals. (The various types to be explained and their work and place in the Universe to be roughly outlined, so as to give a rational and coherent view of the kosmos as a whole. Each position to be supported as before.)

Re-birth.—Jivas are born into forms over and over again, until Moksha is obtained by Karma, Bhakti and Jnana. developed and perfected by purity of life. (As before.)

Karma.—Jivas are re-born according to their thoughts, desires and deeds, each receiving a fresh body as the fruit of his past. (It is important that the working of the law, theoretically and practically, should be very clearly explained; the theory should be supported by quotations at every point, and the practice should be illustrated by stories.)

Sacrifice.—The Universe having come into manifestation only by the Primary Sacrifice of Prajapati, it is pervaded and supported by sacrifice, that is by the continual surrender of a self for other selves. All lives are maintained by the sacrifice of other lives; hence a constantly turning wheel of mutual obligations, an inter-dependence between all beings physical and super-physical, and a failure of any who endeavour to avoid turning this wheel. (As before.)

The visible and invisible worlds.—(As before.)

II.—GENERAL HINDU RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND RITES.

The Samskaras.—The meaning and importance of each to be explained, with the facts in nature on which each is based. (As before.)

Shaucha.—The rules of physical purity. (As before.)

The five daily sacrifices.—The significance of each of these. (As before.)

Worship.—Its obligation and necessity. (As before.)

The four stages of life.—The student: his duties and mode of life; Brahmacharya. The house-holder: his duties and responsibilities to the family and the nation. The two last

stages, passing from active life. How the old ideal may be followed in spirit in modern life. (As before.)

Shrâddha.—Explanation of its meaning and use. (As before.)

The Caste System.—Its fundamental principles; the typical stages of evolution; the dharma of each caste; abuses arising from clinging to the letter and ignoring the spirit of caste.

III.—ETHICAL TEACHINGS.

The place of the Emotions—Feelings the basis of family and social life and the roots of all virtues and vices. (To be worked out clearly, and simply explained.)

Virtues.—All are forms of Truth, *i.e.*, of what is, and are therefore constructive and durable. (A sequential scheme of virtues should be worked out, classifying them according to the emotions out of which they grow. Each virtue should be illustrated by stories exemplifying it.)

Vices.—Forms of Untruth, *i.e.*, of what is *not*, and therefore destructive and transient. (As above.)*

Finally, in the matter of education, the Mahommedans of Southern India, who have an excellent institution at Vellore which competes with Aligurh without claiming to itself so much attention, have determined to establish a Technical Branch as an adjunct to the College, thus showing their practical good sense.

Turning to books, literature and learning, we notice the arrival in India of the American, Professor Jackson, who has brought himself forward by his studies of the Zoroastrian religion and literature. He was welcomed in Bombay by several leading Parsee gentlemen, and delivered several addresses during his stay. Our own early investigations into the same field have led us to the following conclusions :—

(1) That the *organic* unity, if any, of the *Avesta* has yet to be traced, and, if possible, proved.

(2). The same in regard to the indebtedness of the Zoroastrian faith to Jewish literature and the Jewish Scriptures. There are, thus, rich mines of research (and speculation !) yet open to Professor Jackson and men of his *cult*. Dr. Stein is still pursuing his archæological researches in Chinese Turkistan, a subject to which the first attention was drawn by the late General Nassau Lees, LL.D., then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah and Principal of Fort William College in Bengal, in a communication to us. General Nassau Lees believed that a great deal of the ancient history of Asia and the world would

* All this is very good, but Orthodox Hindus may object to receive and work out at the hands of a non-Hindu Woman of the West what really amounts to a NEW SHASTRA and *subversion of the Old Faith.*—ED, *C. R.*

be discovered or elucidated by the remains of cities and books, etc., in the great then unknown region of Turkistan to which at the time we were bound. The following is a summary of Dr. Stein's results:—His labours in the inhabited part of Khotan have resulted in the identification of most of the ancient localities which are known from the accounts of early Buddhist pilgrims from China. Numerous objects of antiquarian interest, such as ancient coins, art pottery, seals, etc., found in the débris layers of these old sites, were acquired for the collection of Central Asian antiquities which has been formed under the orders of the Indian Government. Subsequently the adjoining parts of the Taklamakan deserts were explored, and the remains of ancient settlements, which had been overwhelmed by the moving sands, yielded many interesting discoveries. At one site, to the north-east of Khotan and some fifty miles from the nearest now inhabited part of the oasis, Dr. Stein was able to excavate among other ruins half-a-dozen Buddhist shrines partially buried under sand dunes. Mural paintings of remarkable freshness, together with numerous finds made there of stucco sculptures and votive pictures on wood, strikingly illustrate the thoroughly Indian character and high technical development of the art practised in ancient Khotan. Not less interesting are the finds of ancient manuscripts, mostly Sanscrit, which have come to light in the monastic dwelling places attached to those shrines. Miscellaneous documents in Chinese, and in what is likely to prove the early indigenous language of Khotan written with old Indian characters, were also unearthed in considerable numbers. The hearty co-operation and help which the Chinese local authorities have throughout accorded to Dr. Stein, have helped him along. Writing subsequently from Kashgar Dr. Stein states that he had reached Endere, and made another interesting find of Buddhist and Sanscrit manuscripts somewhat less ancient than the wooden tablets first discovered. We may add, that the vast region, between the Gobi Desert and L'hassa on the East to the Sea of Aral and the Caspian Sea on the West abounds with ancient buried cities, of which some curious legends have been preserved. On the 4th April last in a wire from Simla, we are informed that Dr. Stein was exploring in a desert north of Niya in Chinese territory, and that he has already discovered in two old monastic ruins some three hundred documents, including Buddhist texts, votive and legal records and correspondence, dating back to the first century of the Christian era. They are on wooden tablets, many being well preserved, with dates and clay seals intact. The modern world of mechanical, industrial, and scientific progress, however, cares little for such things. The romance and poetry of the world have departed. We could yet

point out sites in Eastern Bengal associated with wonderful legends which were fast dying out sixty years ago. We could furnish an account of a great and mighty and rich empire in the Central Provinces which went beyond the Buddhist and even the Hindu periods. But who would hear or care amid the rush of railways and the din of steam-hammers, or the whirr of wheels? We have to move with the age, and "let the dead (past) bury its dead."

We have also to notice a sad tale of the decline of Persian learning in India given by Mr. Beveridge—formerly a Judge of the High Court of Bengal and one of the Editors of the *Calcutta Review*—in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Beveridge was last year in India searching for Persian historical manuscripts, and he states, that the only collection now in Upper India is that of Khuda Baksh in Patna, generously dedicated to the public use. The collection is small, but choice and valuable, and rich in illuminated works of great beauty. The best and largest collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts in all India belongs to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

In each of these two languages there are here more than 4,000 manuscripts. Mr. Beveridge found here a new authority on the history of Akbar, and some Tûrki verses composed by Baber and written in his own hand. Mr. Beveridge also says, that the principal treasures in the Patna collection are believed to come from the royal libraries of Delhi and Lucknow which were scattered during the troubles of the Mutiny.

Sir Thomas Munro's letters, on which the Viceroy has cast a longing, if not covetous, eye are thus referred to in the *Madras Mail*:—Considering the length of time and the number of hands which these letters must have passed through, it must be said that, far from being allowed to rot, they are kept in an excellent state of preservation. They are preserved in strong leather boards and kept in an open shelf exposed to light and air, which are considered necessary to preserve them in good condition. There are about fifteen letters, the majority of which refer to matters of local importance. In one of these, Sir Thomas Munro emphasises the importance of the sinking of wells as a protection against seasons of drought. He calculated that the price of land on which a *well was sunk was increased three times by reason of that fact*, and that it took ryots Rs. 240 to sink a decent well. Taking the average cost of a *gunta* of land at Rs. 30 when there was no well on it, he calculated that it would take a ryot four years to recover the outlay on the well. He suggested that during the first six years the ryots should not be charged any extra assessment on account of the enhanced value. He was of opinion that a

great inducement for making wells would be levying on garden lands a fixed revenue. Another letter, which is in Munro's writing, but does not bear his signature, contains the earliest allusion to the ryotwari system. A third letter gives an excellent accout of the origin of *Shrotriems* and *Agraharams*, which were resumed by the Government in return for money compensation. In a fourth letter, he gives an account of the economic condition of the weaving communities in the Baramahal and Salem Districts at the close of the war of 1792, and protests against the weavers being forcibly made to work for the East India Company by their Dubashes and Agents. We are afraid the Madras Presidency will be unwilling to part with such a treasure as these letters, even to be placed in a corner of Lord Curzon's Victoria Museum of ancient curiosities and misplaced busts where no Madras official could refer to them. Mrs. Max Müller having undertaken to write a life of her late husband, the Messrs. Longmans and Green notify that she would be much indebted to any of his friends and others if they would lend her any letters of his they may possess. They should be sent to Mrs. Max Müller at 7, Norham Gardens, Oxford, and it is stated that they will be returned when done with. There is a chance, of course, of their being lost or mislaid, as happened to a very characteristic and valuable letter from the late Dr. Duff to us written more than forty years ago, and which we entrusted to the late Dr. Norman Macleod for the purpose of writing up Dr. Duff's biography. As we gave a few lines in the last Quarter's notes to notice Professor Max Müller's death, so here we briefly refer to the decease of an author of a very different stamp, unassuming, practical, and influencing her generation—or rather two generations—through the young women and mothers, in a very remarkable degree. We refer to Miss Charlotte Yonge, with some of whose numerous well-written works even some of us may not be unacquainted. She was the Editor of the *Monthly Packet*, an exceedingly tasteful publication for young people of the middle classes, and first came into notice with her novel of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, followed rapidly by *Heartsease*, *The Daisy Chain* and others. Besides these, she has also given us a life of the Martyr Bishop Patteson of Melanesia. Altogether she wrote nearly fifty works. Middle class England of the present day may be said to owe much to her. She did not rank, however, in literary power with the famous authoress of *John Halifax Gentleman*. Mr. G. W. Forrest, who was formerly in charge of the Government Records in Calcutta, and is now similarly employed in the India Office at Home, is shortly to come out with *Sepoy-Generals—Wellington to Roberts*, which will include all the great Army-leaders we have had

in India. We can only express a wish here that two of the most eminent of these, Sir Donald Stewart, and Sir William Lockhart, will not be omitted, and that justice will be done to them. Any partizan tone, or marked omissions, will be sure to destroy the value of the work. We learn from some antiquarian correspondence in the press that the first book printed in India was a *Catechism* by the Jesuits in Goa in 1557; so that India is indebted for her printing press as well as education to Missionaries. The paper read in the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on the 14th March last is called "The Growth and Trend of Indian Trade—a Forty Years' Survey," by Mr. H. J. Tozer, M.A. We are not sure that this paper was suggested by, or is derived from, a very long article on the same subject, but taking a more extended survey, in the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta, early in 1899—an article that was reproduced in the Home press. If Mr. Tozer has not seen it, he might with advantage study it; and we shall be glad to give him space for modification or extension of his paper referred to above.

Passing from matters literary to matters scientific, the Bengal Government, with a wise liberality, grants half a lakh annually for three years for experimental research connected with the Indigo industry provided the Planters find Rs. 75,000 annually for the same period. Sir John Woodburn's Government also establishes three Sanitary Engineering Scholarships in the Shibpur College. Such wise measures and liberality speak well for the Lieutenant-Governor, who declared lately that the great earthquake, the famine, and the plague, had already cost the Bengal Government nearly fifty lakhs of rupees. But Bengal is the richest province in India, and can well afford much that is simply impossible to the other Governments. A party of Jesuit teachers from St. Xavier's College, accompanied by the former, and now pretty old Secretary of the Calcutta Municipality Mr. Turnbull, proceeded to Sumatra to take some observations during the late eclipse of the sun. We are afraid nothing much that is startlingly new can now be recorded regarding these eclipses. Some observations regarding magnetic earth-currents and earthquake-vibrations, for which sunk buildings have been sanctioned, are shortly to be undertaken by Mr. W. Küchler, who is in charge of the Alipore Observatory. An enormous kite will also be made use of for tapping the atmosphere for electricity, temperature and meteorological data which cannot be accurately ascertained from mere surface observations. We noticed in our last Quarter's notes the great Nobel Prizes. The following is a copy of a Despatch from the Home Colonial Office relative to the same subject:—

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of any persons who may be interested in the matter, that an official translation (in French) of the statutes and regulations with regard to the late Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel's Bequest, approved by His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, has now been published, and that the Charge d'Affaires for Sweden and Norway at this Court has asked that as much publicity as possible may be given to the contents of the publication. It is understood that the amount available under the Bequest for distribution annually in prizes to meritorious inventors and others is about £40,000; that it is divisible into five equal parts to be assigned (1) for the most important discovery in physical science, (2) for the most important discovery or improvement in chemistry, (3) for the most important discovery in physiology or medicine, (4) for the most remarkable literary work, and (5) for the greatest service in the cause of International Peace; that the first distribution of prizes will take place on the 10th of December in this year; and that the competition is open to every one without regard to nationality. There are, thus, five awards of £8,000 each for successful competitors. We feel perfectly sure from the difference between the Norwegian character and that of the French, that these munificent prizes will not be "hocussed" in the way the great *Prix de Bréant*, for the discovery of the nature and cure of cholera, has been for so many years by the Paris Academy of Sciences, to whom was left the making of the award. The French are notorious for jealousy to outsiders; and as the sum is a large one, 100,000 francs, they have determined that no one if not a Frenchman shall get it. As it has now been accumulating for a generation, with compound interest, it must amount to a very large sum. In this connection we may be permitted to draw attention to the remarkable paper on the "Cause and Cure of Cholera and Scarlatina" that appears in this issue of the *Calcutta Review*, and which seems to be mathematically (science is full of mathematics) and scientifically demonstrated, and though we have little hope that the writer—a "Physician" of half a century's large and successful experience in cholera in the East—will meet with the recognition that seems to be his due (from the number of French authorities quoted) from the Paris Academy of Sciences, it is probable he will fare better with his Norwegian brethren, should he decide to send in a claim for an award from the Committee. And should he do so and the Committee award him the Prize (No. III), the Paris Academy of Sciences will have no option but to follow suit with the *Prix de Bréant*. And it will be a greater and more enduring glory to have conquered cholera and scarlatina than to have "annexed" the unwilling Boers in

South Africa even though no Order of the Garter or "patents of nobility" be forthcoming. The Supreme Government has ordered an Ethnograhic Survey of India under the direction of Mr. Risley. The cost is expected to be about a lakh-and-a-half, and the time occupied in it a year or two. If we multiply these figures by five, we shall probably be nearer the mark. We remember what happened with the *Gazetteer* entrusted to the late Sir W. W. Hunter. The materials were all to hand in the old Settlement Reports and other publications, and we are quite sure that Sir W. W. Hunter himself would have taken the "contract" to have brought out the work for a tenth what it actually ultimately cost. So it will be with this Ethnographic Survey. But, the Government of India, which cannot sanction a couple of lakhs for a few "Model" Technical Colleges say one at each of the Capitals to increase the wealth of the country, or even looks askance at pitifully small allowances for rewarding proved merit and services, rushes headlong into indefinite lakhs of expenditure merely for the gratification of temporary whims or misguided notions. The *Gazetteer*, for instance, is already out of date—by saying so we certainly do not mean to imply that it should be re-written, or a few more lakhs spent on it—; and the results of this Ethnographic Survey, however interesting, will only lie in the libraries of a few students of Ethnology—"unpractical and useless humbugs" as somebody called them. A Director of Archæology, too, is to be re-appointed, after the post had been abolished, and there is less need of it. All the archæological remains of India are in the hands of the District Officers, who, if they merely added a few lines in their Annual Reports, would amply suffice for them. As for making future and fresh discoveries, we guarantee that no Simla-appointed "Director" will ever do anything much, even with Lord Curzon's special assistance to aid him. A Director-General of Scientific Agriculture is also promised as well as farmiug experiments for which, see one of the papers, in this number. A very apt instance of how matters may be muddled, or even fat sinecures made for favourites at the public expense, is afforded in the recent appointment of Mr. Hatch, a gold expert from South Africa (!), to the work of finding out mineral grounds in India. It seems he was brought out at considerable expense to merely report on the Kolar Gold Mine; or, in other words, as confessed by Mr. Griesbach, the Director of the Geological Survey, in a letter to the *Pioneer*, to supplement the utter ignorance in practical mineral matters of the highly-paid and over-manned Geological Department! As for India being even remotely benefited by the expenditure of probably over a lakh on Mr. Hatch—who was appointed by Lord George Hamilton,

and who set aside other far more experienced mineral specialists and who were acquainted with India—there is not the most remote likelihood. And it is for all this precious waste of untold lakhs in the aggregate that we impose an unnatural and unpopular grinding Salt Tax, continually breaking out in Riots, or an infamous Opium "Monopoly" which is the scorn of the enlightened world, the shame of England, and the bane and destruction of China.

NATIVE STATES AND PRINCES.—The Gaekwar of Baroda has again appeared in a "new (and striking) light," highly to his credit as an enlightened prince. Indeed, we doubt if any crowned head in Europe, or even a science professor, could have done and spoken better. We refer to the Chief's speech at the meeting of the Grant Medical College. Let us trust that the speech was not written out for him. In any case, the sentiments must be his, and in every respect they do him credit. The young Mysore Prince has returned from his trip to Burmah, and has expressed his surprise at seeing Rangoon and the Shway Dagoon Pagoda. He should also see St. Peters' Rome, and the Cologne Cathedral—if not, Chicago and its palaces. But here that ill-advised and absurd resolution, proclamation, and other, of Lord Curzon's, bars the way! Mysore now rejoices in a new Dewan, Krishna Moorti, whose name even ought to be a guarantee of the highest ability and excellence. Indeed, we think Mysore particularly lucky in having such an enlightened and liberal-minded man at the head of its affairs. The following, which we reproduce from a portion of the Dewan's reply to an address of congratulation from the Protestant Native Christians of Bangalore, while they would make the hairs stand on end of the leaders of "orthodox" Bengal, shows that the man who could utter such sentiments, considering who he is, would be a leader wherever he was and stand always in the van of true progress and enlightenment. He said:—I am very glad indeed to meet you here and to receive assurances of your good wishes. I thank you sincerely for your very kind congratulatory address. Yours is a progressive and growing community, possessing every facility for advancement and reform. Your numbers are increasing, and at present they are, I believe, about 28,000. Your religion and education both combine to make you peaceful, contented and truthful subjects ever striving to advance in the scale of civilisation, devoted to your chosen pursuits and loyal to your Sovereign. It is a feature very pleasant and encouraging to contemplate that you have already assumed the leading position of sending 59 per cent. of those of the school-going age to be educated, while this is only 12 per cent. among the rest of the Hindus. It is my earnest wish that you may always keep yourselves in the van of progress

I am glad you recognise that in the past the interests of the Native Christian community have always been given fair consideration in Mysore, and to this policy of the Government with which I have been more or less connected in my long offical career I shall gladly adhere. Your legitimate claims and aspirations will always receive at my hands liberal and sympathetic treatment.

The Maharajah of Jodhpur, who is also one of our Native "travelled" Princes (*pace* somebody) has shown much enlightenment in getting himself inoculated for the plague as an example to his subjects. We are also pleased to learn, even from private letters from Home, of his (as well as the Baroda Chief's) courtesy and hospitality to lady-travellers of note who pass through Jodhpur. There have been wholesale removals of "Nawabs" and high Officers of State by the Nizam in Hyderabad. We have no reason to believe this is the initiation of a new policy to send back the needy "foreigners" from North India who swarm about here, and live on the fat of the land to the exclusion of the native-born. Even the Government of India has, we believe, a rule by which no Bengalis—why Bengalis alone?—can be employed in high offices in the States under the Political Department, and Hyderabad a Southern State might well copy it by excluding Northern India folk. There are quite enough of enlightened Mahommedans in Southern India, besides Hindus, to draw from. And who is not aware that much of the renown of the great Akbar's rule is owing to his very able Hindu Prime Minister—Bir Bâl of immortal memory among even the Bhâts and wandering minstrels of India down to the present day! Let the Nizam copy a leaf from the great Akbar's book, and he will have no occasion to regret it. *Punnah*, too, one of the largest and finest States of Bundelkund, has long been most efficiently ruled or governed by a Native *Christian*! The Chief of Khetri in Rajputana, who had previously spent lakhs on a visit to England and grudged a few hundreds to open up the rich mineral resources of his State, just as probably Bhopal and Gondal have been doing, being debarred from making further visits outward, went about sight-seeing in Agra, and while standing on a tile on one of the lofty blue-glazed small minarets which crown Secundra, Akbar's tomb, lost his footing and was dashed to pieces down below—a sad fate and a warning not to stand on slippery eminences. The Maharajah of Tipperah has, we learn, granted a concession of all the minerals of his territory to a Calcutta firm of builders (!)—rather "a large order," and one which it is the policy of Government to discourage since the sad example of the Hyderabad-Deccan Company, who, according to their last report, with all their

possession of the famous Golconda Mines, and Gold Mines of Raichur, and exclusion of others from the field, and the much-talked-of Singareni Coal Mines, have never yet paid a dividend, and have been obliged to reduce their £5 shares to three shares of £1 each. Truly mining enterprize in some parts of India proceeds under great disabilities of waste, bad advice and lax management. And here, in regard to operations in *British* territory, especially the Central Provinces and Burmah, we would again urge on the Viceroy the requiring of "quarterly" returns (after the plan of Sir Charles Napier when he wanted to see a thing done) of mineral applications, the granting or refusing or delay of them, reasons, and every other needful detail, in order that he may himself see how the new Mineral Rules, on which so much was built for attracting capital, are actually worked. The naked truth in such matters would probably be a revelation to him, and explain why ready capital, anxious to enter, flees away, and the wealth of India is left untouched and buried in the earth. To revert to our Native Chiefs and Princes, the Mian Bhûre Singh of Chamba gets a well-merited C.I.E. for having afforded Lord Curzon such excellent sport at the close of last year. Lord Curzon is fond of sport, but there may be too much of it. The notorious Sir Bir Shumshere of Nepal has deceased and early gone to that home where it was said he sent Sir Ranodip Jung and others when he seized on the supreme power of his State, to expose which Sir C. E. Girdlestone, our Resident, is reported to have come to his own early death. How Lord Dufferin, who had also then the opportunity of adding Nepal to our territories, could have recognised Bir Shumshere's usurpation without fuller proof of his innocence passes our comprehension. Let us, after all, hope that even Bir Shumshere was innocent of the heinous crime of which he was accused, and that Lord Dufferin was convinced of his guiltlessness. The numerous exiled Nepal Princes residing in various parts of India—in Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Jubbulpore, will now have an opportunity of returning to their homes, and getting back portions of the estates which Bir Shumshere's rapacity is stated to have deprived them of.

Finally, we have here to note the death of Dhurrumjît Singh, Deo Bahadur (called by courtesy "Rajah"), Political Chief of Udaipur, South of Sirguja, and owner of two or three other principalities to the North. He died in the middle of his years. He was a most excellently-disposed, and hard-working Prince. He had himself taught English, and never neglected for a day to personally attend to the duties of his various states, which, together, comprised a very extensive area—although he was unknown to *Gazette* honors and even to the outside public of India. He was a genuine father to his people, and ruled

his subjects in love on the old Hindu fashion. And to our surprise we learn,—and we bring it to Sir John Woodburn's notice,—that immediately on his decease, some native employé of the Commissioner's Court at Ranchi, was sent to take charge of the whole so-called estate, but really comprising several principalities and this large State of Udaipur! How the poor primitive inhabitants must regret it. Surely a European Collector or Magistrate might have been made available for such an extensive and important charge—even if only temporary. The Native Press must not hence conclude we object to natives ruling—our previous remarks on Mysore and other States will disabuse them. And if any further proof be needed of our sentiments, it will be seen when we say that it was also a mistake on the part of Government not to have exercised due pressure on the extensive state of Doomraon, to have also an *Official* Collector or Magistrate in the place of a private European, even if a local "planter, appointed." We consider that the ruling of these large States during minorities or interregnums should be reserved to members of the Services, and not given away to inferior *amlah* as in this Udaipur case, or to outside folk whoever they may be planters or others. There are certain vast estates now under the Court of Wards to which our remarks equally apply. A rule should be made that estates of over a certain area, say 7,000 or 8,000 square miles, or over a certain income, should be entrusted to a member of one or the other of the two Services. We do not care at the end of this portion of our Quarter's notes to take up the question of small Indian chiefs and others starting for Europe as "Princes," and other cognate matters in reference to the titles "Maharajahs" and "Nawabs" now used in a slip-shod way, but we hope to find space some time or other for a subject of some importance—namely, the confusion resulting from the want of a well-defined phraseology in regard to Indian Political Chiefs and Princes, and others non-political dignified with honorary titles.

OTHER MATTERS.—In the connected rapid and brief notes recorded above, there are necessarily some matters which come to be thrown out, and which yet are deserving of notice. Of such are the following:—And first in regard to Mr. Pennell's case. Mr. Pennell may be a very able man, and a righteous judge, but he lacks one or two very essential things—one being ordinary prudence. He is also somewhat intemperate in language, and oblivious of a due proportion of things. There are times when imprudence may betoken the highest courage, and it be necessary even to call a spade a spade. But with all due qualifications, Mr. Pennell has succeeded in making decorum a farce. He may have been perfectly right in his

udgment, but he was unquestionably wrong in bringing in Mrs. Cargill's name along with her husband's as threatening him in the execution of his duty. Imagine a lady frightening Mr. Pennell—she ought rather to have softened him. His treatment of Sir John Woodburn was shocking and inexcusable. The only excuse that can be made for him was that he was really very ill with a very painful disease, which being intimately connected with the brain, made his head go wrong. He was perfectly right in resisting unauthorised calls by unauthorised people, even if made in the name of the High Court, to deliver up important papers. And here we come to the real trouble of the whole matter—his suspension. We are no apologists here for Sir John Woodburn or the Bengal Government, but it is clear the latter had no option left but to suspend him, that is, simply carried out the orders of the High Court authorities. From the evidence before us, these latter were completely in the wrong, and had lost their heads, and they compelled Sir John Woodburn to suspend Mr. Pennell. If the Subordinate Judge of the Mofussil was wrong, his superiors of the High Court were still more wrong; and what is worse, succeeded in placing Sir John in a false position. Exonerating, therefore, Sir John and the Bengal Government entirely, we lay the whole blame on the High Court authorities for having lost their heads for being unjust to Mr. Pennell, and leading Sir John into a false position and bringing on him needless blame. It has been a high serio-comedy played by the official world to an admiring public, in which the stomach and its troubles, as with Napoleon at Waterloo, bore a principal part, and the High Court figures as an imperious and unreasonable hot-headed despot breaking its own rules; the sufferers being Sir John Woodburn and Mr. Pennell. The proper ending for the whole thing is apologies all round, and first the High Court should confess its mistake and apologise to Sir John Woodburn for having led him wrong, and to Mr. Pennell for having treated him unjustly. Next, Mr. Pennell should apologise to Sir John Woodburn for his shameful treatment of the latter's kind and even fatherly efforts. Then Mr. Pennell should be granted leave of absence for a year, from the date of his suspension, on full pay, to balance his stomach and recover his judicial equilibrium. We may conclude with a moral: be merciful and never refuse leave of absence when urgently requested by the poorest subordinate; and never act in a hurry as the High Court did. The old Arabic proverb says, "Hurry is from the Devil!" The Vernacular Press of India has found an amiable apologist in Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., late of Madras, and also a severe and hostile critic in its own camp writing in the

Twentieth Century, a new native monthly review started in Calcutta similar to the monthly *Indian Review* of Madras. The subject is one of great importance, and we should wish to see it justly treated by some competent pen, failing which, on some future occasion, we may ourselves proceed to set forth what we know of it. The Madras and Bengal Provincial Conferences have come off, and, as usual, only a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff! A correspondent writes to us to state, that he "believes India is afflicted with plague and famines for it to turn from its degrading idol-worship and seek the Living GOD." The evils of tom-toming reached a climax the other day in South India when a European got inside a temple and thrashed the horrid din-makers. Why should not tom-toming be legally put down, or put "out of bounds?" It is simply noise, and a nuisance, and excruciating to many. There has been a severe riot in the Khulna district in Bengal over illicit salt. Salt was said to be cheap now in the late talk in Council over the Budget, but we know the time when a handful of salt sufficient for the day's use used to be "thrown into the bargain," that is, for nothing, along with other small bazaar purchases. Indeed, the very poor of the population are most heavily taxed by this impost, far beyond their means. We believe a Persian proverb says, that "even a dog would not tax salt." Among our correspondents, and we have several, one requests us to take up Lord Curzon's "twelve or fifteen" famous articles of his Indian creed, and another sets forth a woeful array of Railway delinquencies. The former we reserve for future special treatment; and we may set forth the latter on some other occasion. The Central Railway Station Committee's Report puts the matter of both the Station and Bridge further back than ever. The cost will be enormous. Ceylon tea it seems is underselling Indian teas *in India*—which betokens a fine state of things. We have no space in this number to deal with the question of a new Chief Commissionership to be formed out of Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, and the eastern portion of the Central Provinces. The plague at first increased rapidly, and has again suddenly diminished. A plague riot in the Punjab cost a poor Naib-Tahsildar his life. The partial famine anticipated in Western India has already sent nearly half a million of men into relief. Eastern Bengal is reported to be growing more and more disorderly. Eastern Bengal has been famous for disorder since the days of Doodoo Meeah some seventy or eighty years ago. The causes are many, and we have no space to consider them at present. Some have said the Bengalis are the Irish of India, with a special aptitude for turbulency. The natives are taking to having Banks of their own conducted on English principles. Should these Banks

spread, as they assuredly will, they will take off much business from our present local Banks. Where should the capital of India be located?" We have no time or space to answer this question now. We do think, however comfortable the Boer prisoners of war may be made in India, they should not have been sent to this country. Professor Ramsay in his Report says, evidently with surprise,—"I have seen several skilled workmen in India." He is not aware that the natives of India with their fine sense of touch and patience, have the materials in them of making the best skilled workmen in the world. Dacca muslins and Cashmere shawls could never be made in any other country. A Madras paper thus lugubriously laments the results of the carrying out of the present Viceroy's Resolution about the curtailment of Administration Reports:—

> In former years the Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, was an annual of considerable length. The Report itself, interspersed with many tabular statements, occupied close on one hundred pages, a space which, making due allowance for the statistics which have to be shown, was none too much to describe the working of the Deparment for a year. To this Report were attached some interesting diagrams, exhibiting at a glance the working and progress of all the more important irrigation systems since their commencement, and as a little *bonne bouche*—a luxury, no doubt, but a legitimate one—a few photographs of the more important works carried out during the year under review, accompanied by a few lines of letter press describing them. The Report was also interspersed with sketch maps of the various irrigation systems, which, if not absolutely necessary, added greatly to the amenity of the volume, and, once produced, involved little or no further labour. But what have we now? Gone are the maps, there are no more photographs, we look in vain for those useful diagrams which gave the life history of each project, and the Report itself is boiled down into 26 pages. To make up for all this, we have the administrative accounts of the Department, pages and pages of figures which we make bold to prophesy not even the veriest expert will find cause to dip his nose into.

We have no space at present to notice Mr. Vaughan Nash's "Empire Adrift"—referring to India, in a late number of the *Contemporary*. But we may furnish the following extract from the proceedings of the House of Commons, adding that no reply was given to Mr. Caine:—

> Mr. Caine asked the Secretary of State for India: Whether his attention has been drawn to the evidence of the 7th February before the Famine Commission of Mr. Lely, Commissioner in Guzerat, to the effect that owing to the exhaustion of the soil, the fall in price of sugar and cotton, the disuse of the old custom of grain storage for Home consumption, and the loss of 70 per cent. of their cattle, there has been a complete breakdown among the cultivators of Guzerat:
>
> And, whether, seeing that Mr. Lely repeatedly urged a suspension of 45 per cent. of the revenues last year in Guzerat, he can state the grounds on which the Bombay Government refused to remit more than 20 per cent.; is he aware that owing to the force of circumstances only 28 per cent. could be collected; and can he explain why the proposed suspensions of revenue were not earlier made known to the people.

Finally, a paper friendly to the Boers furnishes the following description of the situation in South Africa. We believe it is nothing but the truth. A single turn in the tide in referenee to the "loyalty" of the Cape Dutch, and South Africa, even yet, would be lost to us. And in our opinion, it would be to quote an expressive phrase, "good riddance of bad rubbish." We believe the Empire would not in the least be affected by it, but, rather, be stronger than ever. The pivot on which England's greatness turns is not South Africa, but India. Has not the Vicerov said it? Lords Cromer and Kitchener would probably be inclined to say Egypt. We leave the matter undecided here. Here is the South African situation :—

> "Our invading columns hold that portion of the Free State upon which they are encamped. Their necessities are such that they have evacuated several important towns during the last few weeks so as to keep close to the railway; also during the last few weeks about a battalion of the British invading force have surrendered (to the Republicans). We do not make any serious pretence of holding the back country of the Orange Free State. In the South African Republic, of course, our armies are more unfavourably situated. A few days ago we were attacked almost within gunshot of Pretoria at Kaalfontein and at Geldenhuis's farm, only about six miles from the centre of Johannesburg Whenever our troops have put their heads out of a heavily fortified town they are fired upon. The greater portion of the Transvaal is not only unconquered, but untouched, and it is held by an army of 8,000 to 9,000 veterans under General Louis Botha. The Presidents of the two Republics are free, and with their deputies and counsellors continue to exercise their functions in a great part—the Transvaal the greater part—of the countries. In addition to this there is the invasion of our territory by several thousand Boers."

Our obituary list includes the following names :—

General H. G. Waterfield, C. B. ; Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London ; Mr. Justice Ranade, of Bombay ; Duc de Broglie ; General Gourko ; Rev. H. R. Haweis ; Ex-King Milan, of Servia ; Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, D.C.L. (a Sanscrit scholar) ; Admiral Commerell ; General Sir Sam Browne ; Sir John Stainer (Mus. composer); Bishop Stubbs of Oxford; Dr. Tanner, M. P., for Cork ; General Barnard (late of Madras) ; Ex-President Harrison ; Miss Yonge ; Sir Edward Watkin ; Sir Dinshaw Pettit ; Sir Arthur Strachey (C. J., Allahabad).

☞ *Special articles to appear in our next number :—*
Women as Rulers, by Sir W. H. Rattigan.
Our Bengal Lieutenant-Governors.
Tantra Literature, by Rev. Dr. Macdonald.
Continuation of *A Returned Empty*, by an Old C. S.
Serpent Worship in Malabar.
Also some others under consideration.

THE EDITOR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Imperial and Colonial Magazine and Review. Illustrated. Vol. I, Part I, November, 1900. 1*s.* nett. Edited by "Celt" and E. F. Benson. London: Hurst & Blackett. India: Thacker, Spink & Co., Thacker & Co., and A. H. Wheeler & Co.

THIS is a dainty production, got up in the best style as regards paper, illustrations, &c., so that it may even grace a drawing-room table. The articles are mostly all on interesting present-day subjects, written by leading writers; with a tale, and an account of Colchester; and avoid the error, for a magazine, of being too long. There are also the usual reviews of the month's events, political and other, and of publications. We can only wish it every success. A serial tale by an author of repute may hereafter well find a place in its pages.

Rue with a Difference. By Rosa Nouchette Carey. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THIS author of a dozen-and-half other novels, some of which have gone to the 30th thousand, and all told a sale of over a quarter of a million of copies, must be popular with a certain class of young-lady readers who live about Cathedral closes. The title of the novel implies that the ending is not "bitter," though very nearly so.

Modern Broods, or Developments Unlooked for. By Charlotte Mary Yonge. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MISS YONGE has been about the most prolific tale-writer for half a century past, having written over fifty novels and other works in as many years. She writes for a very large class of young lady-readers, and her manners, style, and treatment are very superior. Just as we go to press, we learn that she has ended her earthly literary career.

The Attaché at Peking. By A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

THE author of Tales of Old Japan, the Bamboo Garden, and other pleasant and instructive works is well known and generally liked. The present volume familiarly impresses, in the form of "Letters," all that may be seen in, or should be

known of, the Flowery Land now so prominent before the public. The writer takes the reader with him from Hong-Kong to Pekin. Even Mongolia is treated. Higher subjects as trade, politics, and the like, are very lucidly set forth. We should think this work is one of the most readable in Macmillan's Colonial Library Series.

The Increasing Purpose. By James Lane Allen. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

MR. Allen's novels are always worth reading, and this one in particular, to those to whom—to quote him—"the Old Faith, the New Science, and the New Doubt," are of interest. There is an increasing tendency at the present day to treat of matters of Faith in novels which, whatever it may indicate, does not forebode well for the appearance of a classical class—that will outlive the age. Mr. Allen's tale is, of course, well told.

Eleanor. By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: Macmillan's Colonial Library.

WRITTEN in Mrs. Ward's peculiar style, the tale opens 15 miles from Rome; goes through a deal of Rome and adjacent life and scenery; and is concerned with Italy and her priests; the usual love-story forming the basis. Rome may loom largely in the view of a certain small class of—principally lady, readers; but is out of place in, and sympathy with, the busy, living, colonising world of to-day; and neither moves it, nor affects it. We have no doubt the novel serves a useful purpose, but of such works, in connection with Rome, we may have a surfeit—especially after Marie Corelli's last magnificent effort. We notice, with regret, that this work by Mrs. Ward is repeatedly disfigured by such phrases as "Good God!"—"In God's Name," and so forth which show neither culture, nor refinement, nor strength, but, on the contrary—vulgarity and weakness.

Kindergarten Teaching in India. Part I. Infant Standard, Part II. First Standard, and Part III. Second Standard. Eight annas each. By Mrs. Brander, Inspectress of Girls' Schools, Northern and Central Circles, Madras. London, Bombay, and Calcutta. Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

WE cannot too highly praise these small but useful and very well got up Kindergarten Manuals, and can only trust that they will be extensively adopted throughout India. A Missionary Conference of late expressed a wish to get them

in Hindi. There would be a larger sale of such works in Hindi and other vernaculars than in English.

The Fauna of British India, including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. *Arachnida.* By R. I. Pocock. London: Taylor & Francis; Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.; Bombay: Thacker & Co.

THIS is a work of the highest scientific value to those who take an interest in Scorpions, Spiders, and other such creatures. It contains descriptions of all the species of Arachnida, &c., and should prove useful to students of natural history.

Authorised Guide to Lee Warner's Citizen of India. By Rev. A. Tomory, M.A., Professor of English Literature, Duff College, Calcutta. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price twelve annas.

THE title sets forth the object of the work, which is in the form of questions and answers, and is eminently adapted to impress on the pupils the lessons of one of the most valuable educational works ever supplied to India. No educational institution of any pretence whatever, should fail to be without this work in the curriculum of its teaching.

The Authorised Guide to Sir Roper Lethbridge's History of India. By Isan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., Head Master of the Hughli Training School. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1901. Price twelve annas.

VERY much the same remarks may be applied to this useful little work for historical notes relating to India.

Supplement to Nesfield's Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis Book IV, consisting of appendices on Accent, Pronunciation, Structure of Sentences and Structure of Paragraph as required by the Matriculation, or Entrance and First Arts Courses of Indian Universities. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta, 1900. Price three annas.

THIS is an exceedingly valuable, though unpretentious work to the student of pronunciation, and Sentence-structure.

Macmillan's Atlas for Primary Schools in India. Macmillan & Co., Limited; London, Bombay and Calcutta. Price eight annas.

THIS is one of the very best atlases we have seen, even though modestly set forth as for Primary Schools, and is

fully worth ten times its price. It is unusually full, beautifully coloured, and brought down to the latest date except the population according to the last census. The variety of information on the cover relating to Religion, Shipping, Trade, Languages, Races, Railways and Cultivated Acres, are especially valuable. The Messrs. Macmillan, by their excellent School and College works, so well got up and so cheap, are fast taking possession of the extensive Indian educational market. We wish them every success.

The Indian Penal Code. Act XLV of 1860 (with all amendments to date) and Notes, Analysis and Commentaries thereon, by Reginald A. Nelson, M.A., LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Bar.-at-Law, Principal of the Madras Law College, and Advocate of the High Court of Madras. Third Edition. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari & Co.; London: Sweat and Maxwell, Limited, Law Publishers, 3, Chancery Lane, W.C. 1901. [All rights reserved.]

TO quote from the Preface—"with the addition of the large number of cases (some 350) mentioned above, the present edition will, it is believed, afford a pretty complete Digest of the Case Law decided under the Code. Dicisions under the English Criminal Law have also been referred to.' The work, the compiler informs us, has recently been prescribed as the text book in Criminal Law in the University of Madras, in addition to the Punjab University.

A School History of Ancient and Modern India. By Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. With Illustrations and Maps. Macmillan & Co., London, Bombay and Calcutta.

MR. Dutt has produced an exceedingly useful, and even interesting work in a small compass, and well adapted even for advanced classes. The type is clear, and the illustrations are numerous and instructive, though we remember to have seen them before. The numerous maps are also valuable, as showing at a glance India under early Hindu eras, and at various period of British rule. While we, thus, give the work its due praise, we note a number of Mr. Dutt's peculiar ideas and errors. For instance, in page 30, he says "the religion of the Aryan Hindus was adopted 'by all the great non-Aryan Natives of India in this age,' about 800 B.C. How he has managed to include one of the greatest of the non-Aryan tribes, the Gonds, as Hindus, it is impossible to guess. In a work on history, we should not sacrifice truth to vanity. Again, in page 44, after giving an extract from Fa Hian about a Buddhist festival in the fifth century, Mr. Dutt says, "it shows how the

worship of images crept into India with the spread of Buddhism!" An extraordinary inference indeed, that Hindu idolatry was begotten of Buddhism. This same effort to whitewash Hinduism may be seen throughout the book—in page 49, and again in page 60. We have always suspected that the early Vedic worship of the powers of Nature had considerably deteriorated before Buddhism rose as a protest—even against the sensual idolatry of the day. How does the great work of *Mann* affect the matter, as asserted in page 49? There is also a Syrian King called Anhiochus, of whom probably few have heard. But Mr. Dutt's sources of information are probably cryptic, if not even self-evolved. But for these—very glaring—defects, the History is, as we have said, useful, and even excellent.

A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India. By Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service (retired), M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein, & Co. 1900. Price 15s.

MR. Sewell belongs to that class of Civilian officers of whom we could wish to see more*. Sir W. W. Hunter, lately passed away, was the latest most prominent member of this class. And Mr. Sewell in his style, too, and even in going back to dead and forgotten things, reminds us of Sir W. W. Hunter. Now that the latter has disappeared from public ken, Mr. Sewell rises worthily to take his place. Mr. Sewell was, however, in his earlier career in India, as compared with Sir W. W. Hunter's earlier career in this country, far more eminent and distinguished. His chronological tables and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, and his papers on archæological research and early Buddhist symbolism, as well as other contributions showed much research, and early marked him as an officer of high attainments and rare promise. This promise, though he has retired from the service, he has now fulfilled in this splendid work on Vijayanagar. For over two centuries, from 1336 to 1565, this city was the capital of a Hindu Empire that included the whole of Southern India. It was ably governed, and continued to increase in wealth and prosperity. It was the admiration of the Portuguese travellers of that day, who have given very full and florid descriptions of it which Mr. Sewell has incorporated, in translations, in his work. With power, prosperity and wealth, came pride, the usual precursor of a fall; and accordingly the Mahomedan scourge overtook it.

* What has become of Charles Arthur Kelly,—once a frequent contributor to our pages,—with his exquisite contributions on the days of classical Greece? Surely leaving India does not benumb one's pen?—ED. *C. R.*

The last Hindu sovereign, with nearly a million of men, went out to meet the invaders, carried on a litter, for he was 96 years of age. But he was captured and at once decapitated, throwing the Hindu forces into a panic. A hundred thousand of them are supposed to have been slaughtered in the pursuit, and the victorious Moslems entered the city. When, earlier, the news of the disaster reached the city "All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all treasures, to arm the young men, and to wait. Next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjaris, Lambadis, Kurubas, and the like, poured down on the hapless city, and looted the stores and shops, carrying off great quantities of riches. The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Mussalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment; but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vithalasvami near the river and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming one day with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

And there ended the Empire of the "King of Kings, Lord of the Greater Lords of India, and Lord of the Three Seas and of the Land!"

Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana. Translated for the first time from the Chinese version by Teitaro Suzuki, Chicago. The Open Court Publishing Company. London Agents: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co. 1900.

THIS is a small work translated from the Chinese by Mr. Suzuki. It is supposed that there is a Sanscrit original, but it has not yet been found. The author is also supposed to have been a Bengali Brahmin, but his name does not support that view—a Ghose is not a Banerji or a Mukerji. It is said he became a Buddhist, and wrote this work. He propounded a peculiar view of metaphysics, which seems to have taken well with the Chinese race; hence a translation of his work is found only in China. The Awakening of Faith is, of course, in his peculiar view, though where any *Faith* comes in it is difficult to see—except to believe that he had attained unto Supreme Wisdom. The work is an attempt to show Nirvana may be attained by the Buddhistic process of thought—not by the practical self or ego crucifixion of the Christian: to get rid of suffering, and not *to suffer*. It is all "contemplate," "contemplate," "contemplate!" Hence the effeteness of Buddhism. We have no doubt that the American "Open Court Publishing Company" consider this work quite a prize; but we consider it as a hopeless attempt to revive a peculiar *form* of a small portion of metaphysics (or the science of the mind), which has been long dead and buried—a dead effort of Hindu metaphysics, pored over only by as dead old Chinese Bonzes.

The Tiruvāçagam; or 'Sacred Utterances' of the Tamil Poet Saint and Sage Mānikka-Vāçagar: the Tamil Text of the fifty-one Poems, with English Translation, Introductions, and Notes; to which is prefixed a summary of the Life and Legends of the Sage, with appendices illustrating the great South-Indian System of Philosophy and Religion called the Caiva Siddhāntam. With Tamil Lexicon and Concordance. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D., Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford. Pages c+440, Royal 8vo., cloth. Price 21*s.* net. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. London, Edinburgh and New York.

THIS title-page gives a full description of the contents and nature of the work. The Rev. Dr. Pope is probably the only Tamil scholar of eminence in Europe, and his numerous works in that language are well-known. Alone he expatiates—and from the example before us, evidently *revels* —in that field. The *Tiruvāçagam* is the *magnum opus* of his

long life. That it is so, and its completion, are thus described by himself:—

"I date this on my eightieth birthday. I find, by reference, that my first Tamil lesson was in 1837. This ends, as I suppose a long life of devotion to Tamil studies. It is not without deep emotion that I thus bring to a close my life's literary work.

"Some years ago, when this publication was hardly projected, one evening, after prayers, the writer was walking with the late Master of Balliol College in the quadrangle. The conversation turned upon Tamil legends, poetry and philosophy. At length, during a pause in the conversation, the Master said in a quick way peculiar to him, 'you must print it.' To this the natural answer was, 'Master! I have no patent of immortality, and the work would take very long.' I can see him now, as he turned round,—while the moonlight fell upon his white hair and kindly face,—and laid his hand upon my shoulder, saying, 'To have a great work in progress is the way to live long. You will live till you finish it.' I certainly did not think so then, though the words have often come to my mind as a prophecy, encouraging me when weary; and they have been fulfilled, while he has passed out of sight."

The work is inscribed "to the memory of Benjamin Jowett, one of the kindest, and best, and most forbearing of friends—with all gratitude and reverence." It is one which no student of the essence of the Caiva faith of South India can be without. There is not only the Tamil text with its translation and lexicon and concordance, but the numerous "Notes" are particularly valuable, and the book should find a place in every well-appointed library throughout India, Europe, and America.

The following couple of extracts, one from a "Note" and the other one of the translations will show the style and excellence of Dr. Pope's work, though we are inclined to think that he has taken a very unaccustomed view in regard to the Tamil poet being on a par with the great Christian saint (and poet) St. Bernard in religious sentiment, which, with our knowledge of India and Indian peoples, we venture to assert is distinct one from the other in conception and essence as well as object.

The following extract from a "Note" describes the *Caiva Siddhānta*:—

"The *Caiva Siddhānta* system is the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. It is peculiarly the South Indian, and Tamil, religion; and must be studied by everyone who hopes to understand and influence the great South Indian peoples. The

Vaishṇava sect has also many influential followers in the Tamil lands, but these are chiefly immigrants from the North. Caivism is the old pre-historic religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times,* and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people. But this great attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evils, suffering, and the unseen world, has never been fully expounded in English." [*p.* lxxiv. The "Note" is a very long and particularly valuable one.]

In the following extract, we give a whole poem, called the "Tambour Song; or, Refuge with Civan," as it furnishes the very gist and essence of *Caivaism*—a sort of elevated assurance and deliverance from "birth's illusions" as well as future "births":—

HYMN XI.

1.

Māl's self went forth a boar, but failed His sacred Foot
To find; that we His form might know, a Sage He came,
And made me His! To Him, Who hath nor name, nor form,
A thousand sacred names, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

2

The Lord in Perun-turrai's ever-hallowed shrine
Who dwelt, my birth with all its germs destroyed; since when
I've none else; formless is He,—a form He wears,
The Lord of blest Arūr, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

3

To Hari and to Brahmā and to other gods
Not manifested, Civan came in presence there,
Melted our hearts, received our service due; that all
The world may hear, and smile, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

4

From sinking in the vain abyss of worthless gods,—
From birth's illusions all,—the Light Supernal saved
And made me His. Soon as the new, pure Light, was given
How I in Bliss was lost: sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

5

To 'wildered gods, to Ayan, and to Māl unknown,
Civan assumed a form, that men should joy.
That germs of birth consumed might die; with gracious glance,
How to my soul He came, sing we, and beat Tellēṇam!

6

The Lord, Who shakes the serpent dancing round His waist,
With His Hill-partner, came to earth, made us His own;—
Say thus, soul-lighted, eyes like full bright lotus flowers,
Pouring forth floods of tears, and singing, beat Tellēṇam!

*[We take leave to question this for two sufficient reasons: (1) the "old pre-historic" faith or worship was either that of "stocks and stones" pure and simple, or the partially spiritual Deo-worship of the Gonds; (2) the form, essence, &c., are thoroughly Brahmanic.—Ed., *C. R.*]

7

Civan unknown to Hari, Ayan, Indra, heavenly ones,
On earth drew even me; 'come, come,' said He, and made me His!
When imprint of His flowery Feet was on my head impressed,
How grace divine was mine, sing we, and beat Tellēnam!

8

Like rustling palm-leaves is this frame! Its births and deaths,
With dread of good and ill, He swept away, and made me His;
He gave me grace, though I, all else forget, ne'er to forget
His Foot; Whose mighty dance sing we, and beat Tellēnam!

9

As though some stone were made sweet fruit, the Lord in grace
Gave ev'n to me His golden Foot, and made me His.
O ye with slender waist, red lips, and winsome smiles!
'Lord of the Southern-Land,' call Him, and beat Tellēnam!

10

Even in a dream His jewelled Feet 'tis hard for gods to see,—
With Her like laurel tree with jewelled arms,—entering in grace,
In waking hour He took, and made me His! With loving souls
Your dart-like eyes be filled with tears, and beat Tellēnam!

11

When He, Her spouse whose eyes shine bright, mixt with my soul,
And made me His, deeds and environments died out;
Upon this earth confusion died; all other mem'ries ceased;
How all my 'doings' died, sing we, and beat Tellēnam!

12

Ascetic bands sore languish'd, longing for release.
Grace to the elephant He gave, made me his own;
The light supreme deep plunged me in devotion's sea!
How sweet His mercy is, sing ye, and beat Tellēnam!

13

Not those on earth, nor in th' abyss, nor heavenly ones,—
To none beside, so near He drew; He made me His!
To sing His advent, or Him, th' only Great, conceive
Is hard, His glory-song sing we, and beat Tellēnam!

14

Māl, Ayan, all the gods, and Sciences divine,
His essence cannot pierce. This Being rare drew near to me,
In love He thrilled my soul! With this remembrance moved,
Let your bright eyes with tears o'erflow, and beat Tellēnam!

15

The spreading sea of grace supernal that melts and swells,
From which 'tis sweet to draw and drink, we gather round.
The Feet of the bright Southern Lord call we to mind,
His slaves, praise we His sacred grace, and beat Tellēnam!

16

Buddhen, Purandaran, the primal Ayan, Māl, praise Him,
The One-distraught, Who dwell in Perun-turrai's shrine,—the She
Who made births cease,—Lord of fair Tillai's porch,—His gracious Feet
How in my soul they entered, sing, and beat Tellēnam!

17

I lay bewilder'd in the barren troublous sea
Of sects and systems wide discordant all ;—
My care He banished, gave in grace His jewelled Feet ;
Praise we His gracious acts, and beat Tellēnam !

18

Though Ether, Wind, Fire, Water, Earth should fail,
His constant Being fails not, knows no weariness !
In Him my body, soul, and thought, and mind were merged.
How all myself was lost, sing we, and beat Tellēnam !

19

Prime Source of heavenly ones, the Germ of those beneath,
Earth's Balm ; Māl's, Ayan's Treasure, open eyed
We saw, sing ye, His gracious Feet, Who dwelt with us !
Call Him 'Lord of the Southern-Land,' and beat Tellēnam !

20

Sing His race ; sing the heron's wing ; Her beauty sing
Who wears bright gems ; sing how He poison ate ; each day
In Tillai's temple court He dances, where the waiters play ;
His tinkling anklets' music sing, and beat Tellēnam !

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Lucas's Oriental List, for January and February 1901. Annual subscription three shillings—a most valuable publication for all oriental scholars.

Cyclopedia and Report of the Bareilly Theological Seminary of the M. E. Church for 1900 shows what excellent work this denomination is doing for the N. W.-P.

Indian Municipal Journal. Bombay, Caxton Printing Works continues to grow increasingly valuable.

Monograph on Ivory Carving in the Punjab, 1900. Published by Government, Lahore. Very interesting and well illustrated.

Notes and Extracts on the question of Neutrality in Religion—a reprint from somewhere not noted, and without imprint of press! Of course the hand of Dr. Miller is visible in it. It is a pity he does not write more definitely about the teaching of the Bible, or of religion, in Government Schools and Colleges. We can add a great deal to the private history of this question from our personal knowledge.

Shakespear's King Lear and Indian Politics by Wm. Miller, D.D., C.I.E., etc., a thoughtful essay by an old Friend of India.

The Indian Magazine, April.

Report of Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab. 1900.

Progress Report of Forest Administration, Punjab. 1900.

Madras Government Museum.

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